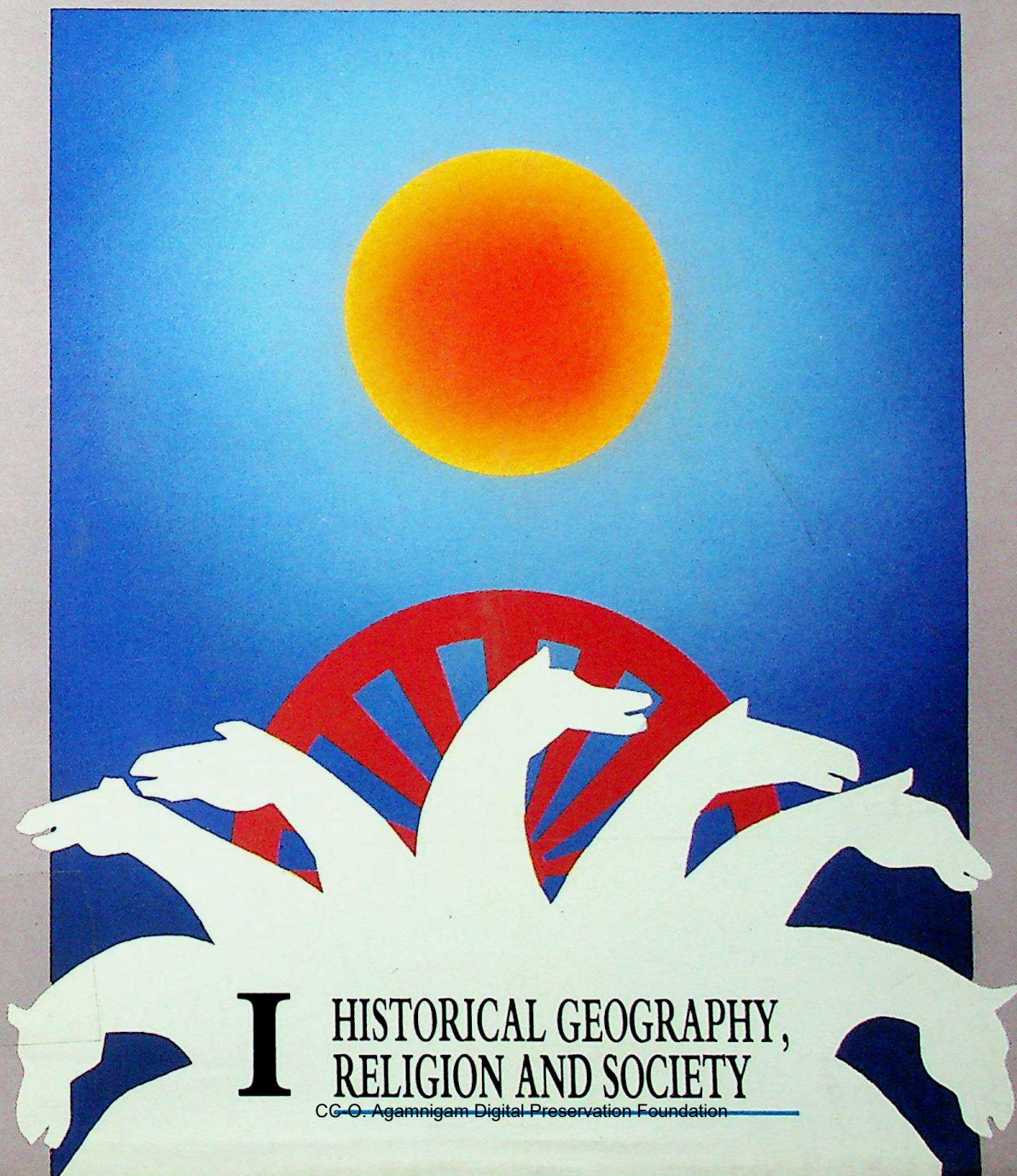


ANCIENT INDIAN HERITAGE

Gandhi Memorial College of Education Bantalab Jammu

VARĀHAMIHRA'S INDIA

Ajay Mitra Shastri



I HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY,
RELIGION AND SOCIETY

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Though the great worth of old texts as a source of cultural history is widely acknowledged, astrological writings are generally supposed to be deficient in this respect. The erroneousess of the notion will be best illustrated by a glance at the present work dwelling from this angle upon the priceless historical data enshrined in the treatises of Varāhamihira, one of the most celebrated astronomers-astrologers that India is justly proud of. His writings afford precious information on practically every aspect of life one can think of and happen to contain the earliest extant datable treatment of several topics in the absence of earlier texts dealing with them which were eclipsed by the comprehensiveness of his works. The present book takes a critical view of all the information afforded by them objectively in a historical perspective, checking, corroborating and supplementing it from contemporary literary and archaeological sources and highlighting the antecedents and subsequent ramifications in many a case where found imperative. The topics dealt with include, *inter alia*, historical geography, iconography, idol worship. Indra's festival and other religious rituals and practices, varieties of necklaces, perfumery and other items of toilet and personal adornment comprehending hair-dyes, tooth-sticks, umbrellas, chowries and betel-chewing, agricultural and horticultural practices, gem industry and trade, role of astrology in everyday life, civil and religious architecture, plasters, sculpture, iconometry, earlier literature on a variety of topics much of which is now known only from Varāhamihira's works, genesis of the name Varāhamihira, jovian cycles of twelve and sixty years, meteorology and rainfall, and location of sub-soil water-resources. Thus, this happens to be perhaps the only work presenting critically at one place so much information on so many diverse topics of interest to students of geography, religious history, cosmetics, jewel industry and trade, agriculture and horticulture, civil and religious architecture, meteorology and hydrology.

1996 pp.612

Halftone Illus 47

Size 10"× 7½"

Index

ISBN-81-7305-083-X (set)

Rs. 2400 (set of 2 vols)

ANCIENT INDIAN HERITAGE
VARĀHAMIHIRA'S INDIA

ANCIENT INDIAN HERITAGE VARĀHAMIHRA'S INDIA

Reference Book

Ajay Mitra Shastri

G.M. College of Education
Raipur, Bantalab
Jammu.

Acc. No.... 5074.21. (III)

Dated.... 16.15.100.3

VOL. I

Historical Geography, Religion and Society

G.M.C.E.J



5074

Reference Book



ARYAN BOOKS INTERNATIONAL

NEW DELHI

CC-O. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation

Ancient Indian Heritage—Varāhamihira's India

Published in 1996 by:

ARYAN BOOKS INTERNATIONAL
4378/4B, Pooja Apartments
4, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj
New Delhi-110002, INDIA

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ISBN 81-7305-081-3 (Vol.I)
81-7305-083-X (set)

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Computer Typeset at Sriram Graphics, New Delhi.
Printed in India at Print Perfect, New Delhi.

*Dedicated to the Loving Memory of
Late Professor Jagannath Agrawal,
whose constant encouragement
was a source of inspiration
and courage to me.*

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Preface

The inestimable merit of old texts for the reconstruction of the cultural history of a country like India which happens to be utterly deficient in dependable historical source material has long been recognised, and the Buddhist Jātakas, Jaina canonical texts and the writings of her great grammarian Pāṇini and the celebrated poet-dramatist Kālidāsa had been studied from this standpoint. But barring a few sporadic instances, Varāhamihira's works were not tapped from this angle, perhaps because astrological texts were not supposed to afford anything substantial for sober historical purposes. It was not till late fifties that the present author, while casually perusing the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and a few other writings of this great astrologer-astronomer, realised how rich they were in historical data. And once the historical worth of these works dawned upon me, I devoted my attention to them and during the last three and a half decades published a couple of books and numerous research papers on various problems concerning early India which were well-received in historical circles. And the present work marks a culmination of my exercise with Varāhamihira.

As Varāhamihira lived towards the close of the Gupta period, his writings give us a vivid picture of practically all the imaginable aspects of the general life of this classical age of Indian history and may truly be called an encyclopedia containing as they do highly valuable information on everything that one could possibly think of. And the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* merits a special mention in this context. It was his last major and most mature all-comprehensive astrological text and had a great impact on subsequent Indian astrological literature. It contains treatment of practically everything on earth from an astrologer's angle and has in consequence turned out to be a mine of exceptionally priceless information on contemporary life. But Varāhamihira had already composed specialised texts some astronomical-astrological aspects, and of these the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, the *Bṛhaj-jātaka*, the *Bṛhad-yātrā*, the *Yoga-yātrā* and the *Vivāha-pāṭala* also contain much precious information on certain aspects. And finally, the *Samāsa*- or *Svalpa-saṃhitā*, an abridged version of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and post-dating all the other works, which is known only from extracts cited by his celebrated commentator Bhaṭṭotpala in his scholia on some

other texts of Varāhamihira, appears to contain his afterthoughts on some of the topics dwelt upon in his *magnum opus*, the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. It has been my effort to extract all the possible information of interest to a student of the cultural history of ancient India as well as to a reader with general interest in historico-cultural studies and present a dependable picture.

In order to make literary works yield dependable comprehensive view of things it is imperative to check, corroborate and supplement it with the information drawn from other contemporary sources like inscriptions, coins and other archaeological sources, and no pains have been spared to achieve this object. In some cases Varāhamihira appears to base himself on earlier texts and in some matters he seems to have had a great impact on subsequent writers. It has been my striving in such matters to trace the beginnings and visualise later ramifications in so far as they are relevant to the present undertaking. In short, no effort has been evaded to make the present work dependable and comprehensive.

The book falls into eight chapters depending on the themes treated. The inaugural chapter dwells upon the problems concerning Varāhamihira and his writings. After a critical discussion of the extant data and the prevailing theories it has been concluded that the Śaka year 427 (AD 505) is the date or nearly so of the composition of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* and not of his birth or of the composition of the *Romaka-siddhānta* or its commentary as held by some. The mention of the king Dravyarardhana of Avanti, most probably of the Aulikara dynasty, by Varāhamihira and some other references of a cultural nature scattered in his works have been pressed into service to show that our author flourished in the sixth century AD and that the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* was composed about mid-sixth century AD. Many unpublished works ascribed to Varāhamihira, rightly or wrongly, have been listed from the manuscript catalogues, and the chronological order of his known works and their cultural significance have also been dwelt upon. The rich data on the historical geography are critically dealt with in the following chapter. The equally priceless information on religion, society and economy forms the subject matter of the next three chapters. It is pertinent to note that some of the topics covered in these chapters are treated for the first time in Varāhamihira's works. Of these, the accounts of *Indramaha* or *Indradhvajasampat* (festival of Indra's flag), *iconography*, *fashioning and installation of divine figures and symbolic representations*, *nīrājana ceremony*, *perfumery*, *arbori-horticulture* and *jewel-industry* deserve special mention. Varāhamihira was a renowned astrologer, and no treatise professing to deal with his works, howsoever objective it may be, can afford to ignore this aspect which greatly influenced (and continues to influence even now and perhaps more vigorously) the general life and thinking of the people, and a summary of some such beliefs will be found in

the sixth chapter. The next chapter aims at an analysis of the data on fine arts gleaned from our texts. It may be pointed out that the account of residential and Paurāṇic religious (temple) architecture, cementing materials and iconometry found in the texts under study is the earliest extant one as known at present and is therefore of enormous historical value. Varāhamihira had before him a rich legacy which he drew and improved upon. But his comprehensive treatment made most of the older works disappear even as the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya eclipsed many of the earlier writings on polity, and their references to earlier authors and their views now form the only source of our information about them. Such references made by Varāhamihira are evaluated critically in the last chapter alongside some other matter.

The work has five appendices. The opening appendix studies the genesis of the name Varāhamihira which has a foreign tinge in it and tries to show its cult affiliation. Varāhamihira refers to matters of interest to a student of polity and administration only casually, and such data form the theme of the second appendix. The next appendix summarises the account of the Jovian cycles of twelve and sixty years found in ch. VIII of the *Bṛhat-samhitā*. The detailed treatment of meteorology and the science of locating sub-soil water-veins called Dakārgala found in Varāhamihira shows how highly developed these sciences were in his time, and the last two appendices are devoted to them.

The foregoing summary of the contents would hopefully suffice to bring out the encyclopaedic character of the cultural data enshrined in Varāhamihira's works which the present book attempts to analyse in a scientific historical perspective. I trust that this work, like my other earlier writings on Varāhamihira, would be received warmly by the historians.

The present work is dedicated to the loving memory of the great savant late **Professor Jagannath Agrawal** who took keen interest in my work and encouraged me to go ahead with my academic undertakings. No amount of words would suffice to express my feelings of love and admiration for him and his deep learning and scholarship.

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

'Prachi',
23, Vidya Vihar,
Rana Pratap Nagar,
Nagpur - 440 022.
Sunday, 8th October, 1995.

Acknowledgements

I am aware of my indebtedness to the earlier writers and others whose writings and helpful suggestions have been of immense help. The first reference here deservedly goes to Utpala (or Bhaṭṭotpala) who was to Varāhamihira what Mallinātha was to Kalidāsa, and at least some degree of the popularity and intelligibility of Varāhamihira's writings is due to him. His commentaries on Varāhamihita's works have proved very helpful in following the latter. I am grateful to the editors of Varāhamihira's works including the late H. Kern, Sudhakara Dvivedi, G. Thibaut, V.R. Pandit, J. L. Shastri, and to Prof. K.V. Sarma, formerly Professor at the Adyar Library and Research Institute, Madras, and Dr. David Pingree of the USA, who are fortunately still with us.

I gratefully remember the late Professors Raj Bali Pandey, V.V. Mirashi, K. D. Bajpai, P.K. Gode, H.D. Velankar, Dr. Vasantkumar R. Pandit and Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao who took keen interest in the progress of my work. For the illustrations appearing at the end I am obliged to Prof. Bhagwant Sahai, formerly Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, and to my former students Drs. Y. Gopala Reddy (Deptt. of History, Govt. College, Gudur, Andhra Pradesh), P.R.K. Prasad (formerly Asstt. Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India) and K. Pulla Rao (Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati), and the authorities of the State Museum, Lucknow, Mathura Museum and the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Some illustrations have been copied from other publications. They are acknowledged in the List of Illustrations.

To my former students Dr. Chandrashekhar Gupta, Head of the Deptt. of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Nagpur University, and Dr. Malati Mahajan, formerly Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University, I owe sincere thanks for going through some of the proofs. The former has helped me in some other matters also. My wife Dr. Yogeshwari Shastri,

Head of the Deptt. of Hindi, LAD & SRP College for Women, Nagpur, my son Dr. Avinash Upadhyay, Senior Lecturer in Biochemistry, Hislop College Nagpur, and my daughter-in-law Dr. Kakoli Upadhyay, Senior Lecturer in Biochemistry, LAD & SRP College for Women, Nagpur, deserve my love and appreciation for seeing some of the proofs and other willing help.

But for the keen interest evinced by Shri Vikas Arya, Proprietor of the Aryan Books International, New Delhi, it would not have been possible to bring out the book in such a good form. I am indeed very thankful to him for all the interest taken and courtesies extended.

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

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*Adapted from Bhaṭṭotpala's
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1. Śikhin, 2. Parjanya, 3. Jayanta, 4. Indra, 5. Sūrya, 6. Satya, 7. Bhṛśa,
8. Antarikṣa, 9. Anila, 10. Pūṣan, 11. Vitatha, 12. Bṛharkṣta, 13. Yama,
14. Gandharva, 15. Bhṛṅgarāja, 16. Mṛga, 17. Pitṛ, 18. Dauvārika, 19. Sugriva,
20. Kusumadanta, 21. Varuṇa, 22. Asura, 23. Śoṣa, 24. Pāgriva, 25. Roga,
26. Ahi, 27. Mukhya, 28. Bhallāṭa, 29. Soma, 30. Bhujaga, 31. Aditi, 32. Diti,
33. Brahmā, 34. Aryaman, 35. Savitṛ, 36. Vivasvān, 37. Indra, 38. Mitra,
39. Rāgayakṣmā, 40. Pṛthvīdhara, 41. Āpavatsa, 42. Āpaḥ, 43. Sāvitra, 44. Jaya,
45. Rudra.

Abbreviations

ABORI	: <i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.</i>
AR	: <i>Asiatic Researches.</i>
ASI, AR	: <i>Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.</i>
ASS	: <i>Anandashram Sanskrit Series.</i>
ASSI	: <i>Archaeological Survey of South India.</i>
ASWI	: <i>Archaeological Survey of Western India.</i>
BDCRI	: <i>Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Pune.</i>
BJ	: <i>Bṛhajjātaka.</i>
BS	: <i>Bṛhatsaṃhitā.</i>
BV	: <i>Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.</i>
BY	: <i>Bṛhadyātrā.</i>
CGAI	: <i>Cunningham's Geography of Ancient India.</i>
CASR	: <i>Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports.</i>
CCGD	: <i>J. Allan's Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty and of Śaśāṅka in the British Museum.</i>
CII	: <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.</i>
CMSML*	: <i>Catalogue of Manuscripts in Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, by P.P.S. Sastri.</i>
CSMDCBUL*	: <i>Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Desai Collection of the Bombay University Library.</i>
CSMGOML*	: <i>Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.</i>
CSMGOMLM*	: <i>Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Mysore, 1922-28.</i>
CSMM*	: <i>Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mithila by H.P. Sastri.</i>

CSPMBBRAS*	: <i>Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
DHI	: <i>Development of Hindu Iconography</i> by J.N. Banerjea.
EI	: <i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>
HDS	: P.V. Kane's <i>History of Dharmaśāstra.</i>
HIA	: S.B. Dikshit's <i>History of Indian Astronomy (Bhāratiya Jyotiṣa Marathi).</i>
IA	: <i>Indian Antiquary.</i>
IC	: <i>Indian Culture.</i>
IHQ	: <i>Indian Historical Quarterly.</i>
JA	: <i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
JAHRs	: <i>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.</i>
JAIH	: <i>Journal of Ancient India History, Culcutta.</i>
JASB	: <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
JBBRAS	: <i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
JBORS	: <i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.</i>
JDL	: <i>Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.</i>
JIH	: <i>Journal of Indian History.</i>
JISOA	: <i>Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.</i>
JNSI	: <i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.</i>
JOI	: <i>Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.</i>
JOR	: <i>Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.</i>
JRAS	: <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</i>
JRASB	: <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
JUB	: <i>Journal of the University of Bombay.</i>
JUPHS	: <i>Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.</i>
LJ	: <i>Laghujātaka.</i>
MASI	: <i>Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India.</i>
NPP	: <i>Nagari Prachārīnī Patrikā.</i>
NSM*	: <i>Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts.</i>
NS	: <i>New Series.</i>

NSP	: Nirnaya Sagar Press.
PHAI	: <i>Political History of Ancient India</i> by H.C. Raychaudhuri.
PO	: <i>Poona Orientalist</i> .
SBE	: <i>Sacred Books of the Erat</i> .
SI	: <i>Select Inscriptions</i> by D.C. Sircar.
SS	: <i>Samāsasamhitā</i> .
TCSM*	: <i>Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras</i> .
TY	: <i>Tikaṇikayātrā</i> .
VIJ	: <i>Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal</i> .
VP	: <i>Vivāhapāṭala</i> .
YY	: <i>Yogayātrā</i>

References

Unspecified figures refer to *BS*, Roman figure to the chapter, and the English figure to the serial number of verses. Thus I.1 refers to the first verse of the first chapter of *BS*.

*Used in Ch. I only

1

Introduction

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I

PRELIMINARY

It is for us and the future generations to wonder at what the glories of the Gupta age were before time took its toll. Did life flow placidly or was it a turbulent stream? What rites, what customs did the people employ to mitigate their sorrows and sufferings or heighten their joy? Could they procure small pleasures of life easily or had to strive hard for the same? What superstitions provided them succour against natural calamities? What beliefs sprouted cultural developments? What artistic and literary moorings they had? In other words, what were the socio-economic, religious, artistic and literary conditions of the age?

While sifting the debris, literally, might provide some answers to the physical conditions obtaining during a given period, the matters of mind cannot be

answered by archaeology; at best, surmises may be hazarded here and there. It is the literary evidences that are of crucial importance here.

And none of the literary luminaries produced by the Gupta age gives a better account of his period than does Varāhamihira. With his literary activities spread over the first half of the sixth century AD, he imbibed the classical culture represented by the Gupta age in its final form. He furnishes an excellent picture of almost all the lurid aspects of contemporary life in its variegated appearances, either directly or incidentally, laying the inquisitive posterity highly indebted to the genius that he admittedly was.

Varāhamihira holds a unique position in the history of astronomical and astrological literature of India. Many authors are known to have composed works on one or the other branch of Jyotiṣa, but Varāhamihira excelled them all by giving vent to his versatile genius in all its three branches alike. He is among the writers on Jyotiṣa what Pāṇini is among *vaiyākaraṇas*, Manu among *dharmaśāstra-kāras*, Kauṭilya among writers on political science and Bharata among dramaturgists. His masterly treatment of the subject and well-deserved eminence and reputation cast all older texts, with very few exceptions, into oblivion.¹

In later times he was gratefully remembered by the posterity.² His well-known scholiast Utpala describes him as the very incarnation of the Sun who descended to this world in the Kali age in order to rescue Jyotiṣa-śāstra from wholesale destruction³ and compares his works to a vast ocean.⁴ The belief in Varāhamihira being an incarnation of the Sun is echoed by the authors of the *Suprakāśa*⁵, the *Bijapallava*⁶ and of the *Daśādhyāyī* gloss on the *Bṛhajjātaka*.⁷ Brahmagupta, who is well-known for his severe censure of earlier writers, does not level any serious accusation against Varāhamihira.⁸ Kalyāṇavarman (*cir.* AD 650-725),⁹ the author of the *Sārāvalī*, drew, among others, upon Varāhamihira's works on horoscopy¹⁰, and the celebrated astronomer Bhāskarācārya also admits of having benefited from his treatises.¹¹ Śātānanda (AD 1098) based his *Bhāsvatīkaraṇa* on the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira.¹² Śrīpati, Śrīnivāsaśrīrāmaja, Śrīnivāsācārya and Nārāyaṇāśa, the authors of the *Jyotiṣa-ratnamālā*¹³, *Jyotiṣa-tattva-kaumudī*¹⁴, *Śuddhi-dīpikā*¹⁵ and the *Praśna-viṇṇava* or *Vaiṣṇava-śāstra*¹⁶ respectively, also acknowledge their indebtedness to his writings. Gaṇeśa Daivajña observes that when astronomical and astrological rules framed by Parāśara, Āryabhaṭa and others became inaccurate, they were amended, among others, by Varāhamihira.¹⁷ The famous

Arabic writer Abu Raihan ibn Ahmad Al-Beruni, better known as Alberuni, who visited India and wrote his account in the eleventh century AD, is all admiration for him and speaks of him as an excellent astronomer¹⁸ who clearly spoke out the truth. He regrets that others did not follow Varāhamihira's example and passes strictures on Brahmagupta's lack of sincerity and his support to imposture.¹⁹

II

VARĀHAMIHIRA'S DATE

As in the case of many celebrated Sanskrit writers, considerable obscurity looms large about the age and personal life of Varāhamihira. The data bearing on his date are scanty and dubious in the extreme and consequently scholars have arrived at widely divergent conclusions. The following pages aim at a searching examination of the internal and external evidence with a view to finding out a working hypothesis regarding his date.

External Evidence

The *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa*: The *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa*, which claims to proceed from the pen of Kālidāsa, the celebrated writer of the three poems, viz., the *Raghuvamśa*, the *Kumāra-sambhava* and the *Meghadūta*²⁰, and to have been composed in the year 3068 (expired) of the Kali age (=the year 24 of the Vikrama era or BC 33)²¹, seeks to rank Varāhamihira as one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya who founded an era in BC 57.²²

Another verse in the *Kutūhala-mañjari* tells us that Varāhamihira was born in the year 3042 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era²³, that is, about three years before the beginning of the Vikrama era.

The *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa* is evidently a very late forgery and the tradition recorded therein unreliable. Its claim to such an early date is belied by the internal evidence. Though claiming to be a contemporary of Varāhamihira, its author admits that he follows the views of Varāhamihira and others.²⁴ It indicates that there must have been considerable interval of time between the two so that the author of the *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa* could cite Varāhamihira's authority. Satya, Śrutasena, Bādarāyaṇa, Maṇittha and Kumārasimha are said to be Varāhamihira's contemporaries.²⁵ But Varāhamihira mentions Satya²⁶, Bādarāyaṇa²⁷ and Maṇittha²⁸

as old authorities showing that they must have preceded him by a considerable time. The authority of Sindhacārya, probably the same as Kumārasimha of the *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa*, is cited in *PS*, XV.19. According to Bhāvaratna, the commentator of the *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa*, Śrutasena is the same as Sidhasena whose opinion is quoted in *BJ*, VII.7. Jisṇu, the father of Brahmagupta (Śaka 550), is also made an astrologer of Vikrama's court.²⁹ It also mentions in a prophetic manner the Śālivāhana-Śaka which was to start 135 years after Vikrama.³⁰ The method of calculating *ayanāṁśa* as given in the *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa* (I.18) is also indicative of late origin. The mention of the *krānti-sāmya* of the sun and the moon as occurring after twenty *ghaṭis* of the *Aindra-yoga* (IV.30) led Sudhakara Dvivedi³¹ and S.B. Dikshit³² to opine that it was composed about Śaka 1164 or AD 1242-43. Keith brings down its date to the sixteenth century AD³³, while Kern is inclined to assign the work to as late a date as the eighteenth century.³⁴ It is pertinent to note in this context that the only known commentary on this work is by a Jain monk, Bhāvaratna, who flourished in the eighteenth century.³⁵ As for the *Kutūhala-mañjari* verse, Dikshit has pointed out that its year cannot be reconciled by any system of calculation.³⁶

An attempt has recently been made by S.K. Dikshit to establish the authenticity of the *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa*.³⁷ As the *kṣayamāsa* (the lapse of a month), which, the *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa* (IV.53) says, in a prophetic manner, would occur in the 103rd year of the Vikrama era, did occur in AD 507,³⁸ he equates Kali 3045, the epoch of the Vikrama era, to AD 405,³⁹ the beginning of his so-called Sāhasāṅka-Vikrama era started by the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Sāhasāṅka alias Vikramāditya to commemorate complete annihilation of the Śakas of Ujjayinī.⁴⁰ Thus, Kali 3068, the date of the composition of the *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa*, would, according to Dikshit, correspond to AD 428-29.⁴¹ "The merit of Dikshit's interpretations" is appreciated by U.P. Shah.⁴² The futility of this view is amply demonstrated by K.M.K. Sarma⁴³ who points out that the equation of Kali 3045 with AD 405 goes against all traditions and that an interval of 135 years between the Vikrama and Śaka eras is accepted by all including the author of the *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa* itself, showing that the latter refers to the era of BC 57 and not that of AD 405. Moreover, had he been a contemporary of Sāhasāṅka Candragupta II, he would have not maintained reticence about the exploits of and the era commenced by his patron, while he is so very eloquent about the traditional Vikramāditya.

Internal Evidence

(I) Śaka 427—The Epoch of the Pañca-siddhāntikā.

We may now proceed to discuss the internal evidence of Varāhamihira's own works. The *Pañca-siddhāntikā* (I.8-10)⁴⁴ gives rules for finding out *ahargaṇa* (the sum total of civil days elapsed from an initial epoch to a given date) and directs us to deduct 427 from the number of that Śaka year for which the *ahargaṇa* is wanted, at the beginning of the bright half of Caitra, when the sun has half set in Yavanapura, at the beginning of Monday, indicating that the epoch of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* is calculated from Śaka 427 Caitra *śukla pratipadā*.

Śaka-Kāla

There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to what this *Śaka-kāla* is. Elsewhere, Varāhamihira calls it the era of the Śaka King (*Śakendra-kāla*, VIII.20; *Śaka-bhūpakāla*, VIII.21) which Utpala confounds with the Vikrama era (*Śaka nāma mlecchajātayo rājānas=te yasmin kāle. Vikramādityena vyāpāditaḥ sa kālo loke Śaka iti prasiddhaḥ, tasmāc=chakendra-kālāt Śaka-nṛpa-vadha-kālād=ārabhya*, on VIII.20). We are also told that the constellation of the Great Bear was in Maghā when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the earth and that the addition of 2526 years to *Śaka-kāla* gives his time.⁴⁵ If, as is usual, the *Śaka-kāla* is here taken to be the era of that name commencing in AD 78, the date of Yudhiṣṭhira will fall in BC 2448. Now, this view goes against the popular notions that Kaliyuga began in BC 3102 and that the Bhārata war was fought out in the juncture of Dvāpara and Kali. The Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II equates the epoch of the Kali age with the Bhārata battle and says that 3735 years (expired) from the latter event correspond to Śaka 556.⁴⁶

The Theory of Cyrus Era

Scholars try to overcome this discrepancy by resorting to ingenious suggestions involving the invention of unknown eras and change in well-documented readings. N. Jagannatha Rao⁴⁷, Gulshan Rai⁴⁸, Kota Venkatachalam⁴⁹ and V. Thiruvengkatachar⁵⁰, for instance, hold that Yudhiṣṭhira died in the twenty-sixth year of the Kali age, that the Persian emperor Cyrus the Great started a reckoning in BC 550, exactly 2526 years after Yudhiṣṭhira's death (BC 3102-26-2526=BC 550), to commemorate either the foundation of the great Persian empire or his incursions into the Indian borderland, that the *Śakendra-kāla* or *Śaka-bhūpa-kāla*

or *Śaka-kāla* of Varāhamihira is identical with this Persian era, and that consequently Śaka 427, if referred to this era, will give us BC 123 as the date of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* (BC 550-427=BC 123). Thus, according to this view, Varāhamihira flourished in the latter half of the second century BC.⁵¹

But this view is entirely baseless. Firstly, there is nothing to show that Cyrus started any era; secondly, even if we admit the existence of the so-called Cyrus era, it is not intelligible why this reckoning was not followed in the founder's own empire and even by the members of his own dynasty, whereas it was accepted and so widely used by Indian astronomers; thirdly, there is no reason to identify Cyrus era with *Śaka-kāla* in complete disregard of the unanimous Indian tradition that the Śālivāhana or Śaka era commenced in AD 78; and lastly, it has been pointed out plausibly enough that the week-day and the *kṣepkas* of the *Romaka* and the *Pauliśa*, as well as the *adhimāsas* and the *avamaśeṣas* of their rules agree with AD 505 only, and not with BC 123.⁵²

The Theory of the Era of Buddha's Nirvāṇa

It has been held by C.V. Vaidya⁵³ and V.G. Aiyer⁵⁴ that by *Śaka-kāla* Varāhamihira actually means the era of Buddha's *nirvāṇa* commencing in BC 543; for, it is argued, the *Bṛhatsamhitā* verse (XIII.3) in question is quoted from Garga who is generally believed to have lived before the Christian Era and could not, therefore, refer to the Śaka era of AD 78. B. Suryanarayana Rao⁵⁵ would take it to mean the Buddha Śaka of BC 540 and make Varāhamihira flourish in the 2nd-1st centuries BC. This view is as untenable as the one just discussed. It is difficult to understand how Buddha's era could be called *Śaka-kāla*. The suggestion of V.G. Aiyer to change the reading *Śaka-kāla* into *Śākya-kāla* or *Śākya-kāla* with a view to correct the error of one *mātrā* in the fourth quarter of the verse is hardly convincing. Firstly, short syllable at the end of a quarter is considered to be prosodically long; and secondly, Utpala, who is in the habit of quoting variant readings in the text current in his time, does not give any variant in this case. The assertion that this verse is of Garga is also certainly wrong. In XIII.2 Varāhamihira says that he would dilate on the movements of the seven sages following Vṛddha-Garga's opinion. Garga opined that the Great Bear remained in each *nakṣatra* for one hundred years. The wording of XIII.3 and the statement about the *Śaka-kāla* and the interval between it and Yudhiṣṭhira's time is Varāhamihira's, not Garga's. Utpala cites a verse of Garga which is in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.⁵⁶

The Date of Bhārata War—BC 2448

Moreover, there is no real discrepancy between Varāhamihira's statement regarding the date of Yudhiṣṭhira and the ancient Indian notions about the date of the Bhārata war. There were at least three main epochs for the Mahābhārata war, one of them being 2526 years before Śāka or BC 2448.⁵⁷ Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataranginī* (I.56) quotes the above verse of Varāhamihira, styles the notion that the Bhārata war was fought out at the end of Dvāpara as misleading (I.49) and says that the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas lived when 653 years of the Kali age had gone.⁵⁸ This date for the Bhārata war finds some support from the date contained in the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarman⁵⁹, the king of Kamārūpa and a contemporary of Harṣavardhana (1st half of 7th century AD). The dynasty was founded by Naraka whose son Bhagadatta was killed in the Bhārata war. He was followed by his son Vajradatta whose descendedants ruled for 3000 years before Puṣyavarman came to the throne. Now, as Bhāskaravarman was 12th in descent from Puṣyavarman, the latter may be placed towards the close of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century AD. The addition of 3000 years, the alleged interval between Puṣyavarman and Vajradatta, gives us about BC 2500 as the date of Vajradatta and of the Bhārata war.⁶⁰

The Date of the Pañca-siddhāntikā—AD 505

There can be thus no doubt that Varāhamihira means by *Śāka-kāla* the era commencing in AD 78.^{60a} In that case the particulars of Śāka 427 noted above will give us 3 *nādis*, 9 *vinādis*, after the midnight at Ujjain, Sunday-Monday, 20th-21st March, AD 505.⁶¹ The *kṣepakas* according to the original *Sūryasiddhānta* (the work of this name referred to by Varāhamihira, which is no more extant, is so called to distinguish it from the modern work of that name) also are in favour of *amānta Caitra kṛṣṇa caturdaśī* of Śāka 428 current (427 expired) which ended on Sunday, 20th March, AD 505, some of the *kṣepakas* being for the noon of that day, and others for the next following midnight. And the nearest *śukla pratipadā* was the *amānta Vaiśākha śukla pratipadā* of Śāka 428 current, which ended on Tuesday, 22nd March, AD 505. But it is referred to as *Caitra śukla pratipadā*, for, as pointed out by Dikshit, according to the real *pūrṇimānta* arrangement, the *pratipadā* of the bright fortnight of the *amānta Vaiśākha* in question belonged to the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta Caitra*.⁶² It is difficult to say to which event of Varāhamihira's life this year refers. Though the epoch of calculation should not of necessity be regarded as the date of the composition of a work,⁶³

in order to facilitate all astronomical calculations and to minimise inaccuracies, 'it is the interest and practice of the *karana*-writers to choose for their epoch a year, as little remote as may be from the time of the composition of their treatises.' It is, therefore, quite reasonable to assume that the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was written in AD 505 or within a few years of that date. A list furnished by the astronomers of Ujjayinī to Hunter and published by Colebrooke⁶⁴ assigns to Varāhamihira the date Śaka 427.⁶⁵ The list also mentions Brahmagupta, Muñjāla, Varuṇabhaṭṭa, Bhojarāja and Bhāskarācārya and assigns them the dates Śaka 550 (AD 628-29), 854 (AD 932-33), 962 (AD 1040-41), 964 (AD 1042-43) and 1072 (AD 1150-51) in order which are respectively the years of composition or astronomical epochs of their works,⁶⁶ viz., *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*⁶⁷, *Laghumānasa*^{67a}, commentary on Brahmagupta's *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*⁶⁸, *Rājamṛgāṅka*⁶⁹ and the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*.⁷⁰ Bhaṭṭotpala is assigned to Śaka 890 which is only two years distant from the dates of his commentaries on the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and the *Bṛhajjātaka*. Thus Śaka 427, though it is not specified to which period of Varāhamihira's life it belongs, may, on the ground of analogy, be reasonably regarded as the date of the composition of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*. This assumption becomes a fact when we find that Alberuni writing in 1030 AD observed that the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was composed 526 years before his own time⁷¹ and that Varāhamihira preceded his (Alberuni's) own time by 525⁷² or about 526 years.⁷³ Thus the internal evidence, the tradition and Alberuni's statement are all unanimous in regarding AD 505 as the date of the composition of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*.⁷⁴

But a dissenting voice against this view is raised by such high authorities as Bhau Daji, Kern and Thibaut. Relying on the statement of Āmarāja, the commentator of Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509, i.e. AD 587 (*Nav-ādhika-pañca-śata-saṅkhyā-śāke Varāhamihirācāryo divaṁ gataḥ*), Bhau Daji regards AD 505 as too early a date for the composition of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* and concludes his remarks with the suggestion that 'in all likelihood his birth was twenty or thirty years subsequent to this date, which would make Varāhamihira about fifty or sixty years old at the time of his death in AD 587⁷⁵. But as pointed out by Dikshit, there is reason to doubt the authenticity of Āmarāja's statement: It is not certain whether the passage is in verse or prose; if versified it does not conform to the rules of metrics and if in prose it is difficult to ascertain whether it has retained its original form throughout so many centuries that have elapsed since its composition.⁷⁶ Moreover, in arriving at Varāhamihira's

date internal evidence of his own works must be given precedence over the statement of Āmarāja who flourished about four centuries after him. Even admitting his statement to be correct, it is not quite impossible that Varāhamihira was about twenty or twenty-five when he composed the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* in AD 505 and that after a long life of about 105 or 110 years died in AD 587.⁷⁷ No doubt this is quite a high age, but certainly not impossible.

Bhau Daji and, following him, Thibaut account for the mention of Śaka 427 by assuming that as “the deduction of 427 forms part of a rule which in the end is said to be ‘in’ or ‘according to’ the *Romakasiddhānta*”, Śaka 427 refers really to the date of the composition of the *Romakasiddhānta*⁷⁸ or of a commentary thereupon or an adaptation thereof⁷⁹, whence it was borrowed wholesale by Varāhamihira, a suggestion utterly lacking in plausibility. It is well-known that astronomers do not always adopt the date of the composition of even their own *siddhāntas* as the astronomical epoch in their *karaṇas*. Thus Brahmagupta composed his *siddhānta* in Śaka 550, but the epoch of his *karaṇa*, *Khaṇḍakhādya*, is Śaka 587; Bhāskara wrote his *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* in Śaka 1072 expired but had Śaka 1105 expired for the epoch of his *Karaṇakutūhala*. It is extremely unlikely, therefore, that Varāhamihira should have chosen the date of the *Romakasiddhānta* or its adaptation for the epoch of his *karaṇa*.⁸⁰ Dikshit⁸¹ has shown that Śaka 427 (expired) ‘is not the date of the *Romaka*, as it is not that of the *Sūryasiddhānta*, the *kṣepakas* according to which also are for Śaka 427 expired.’ It is admitted even by Thibaut that from the chapters on the *Sūryasiddhānta* it appears that Varāhamihira considers that year (Śaka 427) to be the epoch of his *karaṇagrantha* from which all astronomical calculations have to start; for all the *kṣepa* quantities involved in the different rules, given in those chapters for finding the mean places of the sun, moon and planets, can be accounted for satisfactorily on that basis.’⁸² Kern takes his stand on the above statement of Āmarāja as also on Varāhamihira’s reference to Āryabhaṭa’s opinion in *PS*, XV.20. Kern argued that as Āryabhaṭa was born in AD 476,^{82a} it is unlikely that 29 years after in AD 505 a work of his would have become so celebrated as to induce Varāhamihira to quote it as an authority. He was, therefore, led to the strange hypothesis that Alberuni might have erred in taking AD 505 as the date of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, while it really was the date of Varāhamihira’s birth.⁸³ But as Āryabhaṭa composed his work—the *Aryābhaṭīya*—in AD 499, his opinion could well be quoted in a work composed six years later in AD 505, and especially so at Ujjain, which being an important centre under the Guptas, had close contacts with Pāṭaliputra and was a famous

seat of astronomical learning from very ancient times. It will appear from the above discussion that in all probability the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was composed in AD 505.

The Flourishing Period of Varāhamihira's Life

Colebrooke has shown that as Varāhamihira is mentioned by name in the first book of the *Pañcatantra*, he must be anterior to or contemporary with Khusrau Nushirwan, King of Persia, in whose reign (AD 531-579) it was rendered into Pahlvi.⁸⁴ Having discussed at length the position of coluses as depicted in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, the same scholar comes to the conclusion that Varāhamihira flourished towards the close of the fifth century AD.⁸⁵ L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, starting from the first approximation AD 536, arrives at AD 532 as the year of zero *ayanāmśa* and therefore the epoch of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*.⁸⁶ The general consensus of opinion among scholars is thus in favour of assigning Varāhamihira to the last quarter of the fifth and early in the sixth century AD.⁸⁷

There are some other considerations of a general nature supporting this conclusion. Varāhamihira shows acquaintance with Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*⁸⁸ and the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana⁸⁹ which are assigned at the latest to the third and fourth centuries respectively of the Christian era. Thus in LXXVII.1-2 we find mention of some princes who fell a prey to the machinations of their faithless consorts. This list is evidently borrowed from the *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. I, Ch. 20). The description of necklaces in LXXX.31-36 has close similarities, sometimes amounting to identity, with Bk. II, Ch. 11 of the *Arthaśāstra*. The first two quarters of LXXVIII.20 are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the concluding verse of Bk. II, Ch. 32 of the *Arthaśāstra*. Varāhamihira mentions *Arthaśāstra* (YY, XIII.4) which may have reference to the *Kauṭilya*. Some verses of Chapter 78 of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* describing the signs of loving and disaffected women (verses 3-6, 12, 7-8), persons and occasions against which women are to be protected (verses 7-11) and the like seem to be based on certain sections of the *Kāmasūtra*.⁹⁰ An erotic remedy recommended in LXXIV.10 is the same as that given in *Kāmasūtra* VII.1.38, while that prescribed in LXXIV.7 very closely approaches the one described in *Kāmasūtra* VII.1.37. The *Vivāhapāṭala* (17) refers to the view of one Vātsyā as to the year, month, fortnight and the *tithi* proper for a nuptial. It is difficult to say whether he is identical with Vātsyāyana, but the view attributed to him is not met with in the text of the *Kāmasūtra* as we have it today.

Varāhamihira mentions the *Bhārata*, i.e. *Mahābhārata* (YY, XIII.4), which must have received its present form not later than the fourth century AD⁹¹, and reveals knowledge of its contents. The recitation of the *Bhārata* was regarded as sacred. We have a reference to Aśvatthāman killing his enemies when they were asleep (*Draunir=yath= ārer=niśi sauptikena*, YY, IV.39). Varāhamihira attributes certain statements to Dvaipāyana (BY, I.15; YY, XVI.4), while verses 12, 13 of Chapter I of the *Bṛhadyātrā* are identical with Śāntiparvan 58.16, 15.

Mention is also made of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (YY, XIII.4) which assumed its present form towards the close of the 2nd century AD.⁹²

Our author quotes five verses (LXXIII. 7-11) in the name of Manu; one of these (LXXIII.10) is identical with verse 58 of the 3rd Chapter of the *Manusmṛiti* the present text of which was formulated sometime between BC 200 and AD 200. The combined testimony of all these facts coupled with the mention of Aryābhata (born AD 476) shows that the flourishing period of Varāhamihira's life cannot be placed before the last quarter of the fifth century AD.

Some of the territorial names mentioned by Varāhamihira seem to point to the Gupta period in general. Thus, the references to Samataṭa, Vaṅga and Nepāla are first noticed in the Gupta inscriptions. While Samataṭa and Nepāla are first known to have been referred to in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, Vaṅga is first mentioned in the famous Meharauli iron pillar inscription of king Candragupta who is evidently identical with the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya. These references should suffice to prove that Varāhamihira cannot be placed in the pre-Gupta period.

The religious conditions as depicted in Ch. 57 of the *Brhatsamhitā* also point to the same period. According to Varāhamihira, Sūrya should be depicted clad in the Northerners' Dress (*udīcyā-veṣa*), holding in both the hands lotuses by their stalks (LVII. 46-48).⁹³ Though Sūrya images were draped in the Scythian dress even earlier, the other motif—lotuses in both the hands—was evolved in the Gupta period. Describing a four-armed image of Viṣṇu, Varāhamihira states that his two right hands should show *śāntida-mudrā* (*abhaya*) and a mace, and the left ones a conch and a disc.⁹⁴ This form was preceded by the 'Maitreya type' of the early Kuṣāṇa period⁹⁵ and is illustrated by some Kuṣāṇa sculptures and a single specimen from the Gupta period.⁹⁶ This form went out of vogue after the Gupta age. Even in the Gupta period the *śāntida* motif was slowly giving way

to another characteristic emblem, a lotus. It indicates that Varāhamihira could not have flourished long after the close of the Gupta age.

Moreover, our author allots quite a large number of verses to the iconography of Viṣṇu (5), Śiva (4) and Sūrya (7), but only one verse each to that of the Buddha and Jina. The Buddha is, however, styled as 'the father of the world' (LVII.44). This points to an age when Brāhmaṇical sects like Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and the Sun cult were dominant, but Buddhism had also not yet lost its grip over the masses. This applies best to the Gupta and late Gupta periods.

Another clear pointer on this question is provided by Varāhamihira's description of the ingredients of *tāmbūla* or betel which was an important item of ancient Indian toilet. BS, LXXVI. 36-37, mentions only the lime (*cūrṇa*), areca nut (*pūga-phala*) and betel leaf (*pattra*) as essential ingredients of a *tāmbūla*. Spices including *kakkola*, clove and nutmeg are also referred to. The omission of catechu or *khadira* is of great chronological interest. It is mentioned in later medical texts beginning with Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* (Sūtra-sthāna, III.38), datable to about AD 650, which, when contrasted with the silence of early medical texts like the *Caraka* and *Suśruta Saṁhitās*, assumes considerable chronological significance and points to the same general conclusion regarding the flourishing period of Varāhamihira.

III

PERSONAL LIFE

All that we know about the personal life of Varāhamihira⁹⁷, also known as Varāha⁹⁸ and Mihira,⁹⁹ is based on stray references in his own works and certain observations found in Utpala's commentaries thereon. A verse in the Upasamhārādhyāya of the *Bṛhajjātaka* tells us that Varāhamihira was an inhabitant of Avanti (Ujjayini) and a son of Ādityadāsa¹⁰⁰ from whom he studied through the blessings of the Sun at Kapitthaka.¹⁰¹ A perusal of the opening verse of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, however, gives the impression that his teacher in astronomy was different from his father.¹⁰² At one place in the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* (XVIII.61) also Varāhamihira describes himself as *Āvantiyaka*. Utpala employs *Āvanta* as his secondary name¹⁰³ and styles him *Āvantikācārya*¹⁰⁴ as is also done by Mahīdhara in his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka*.¹⁰⁵ As for Kāpitthaka, it must be remembered that manuscripts give several variants like Kāmpilyaka¹⁰⁶

Kāmpillaka,¹⁰⁷ Kāpiṣṭhala,¹⁰⁸ Kāpiṣkala¹⁰⁹ and Kāpitthaka.¹¹⁰ It is difficult to say which of these readings is really intended. Kāpitthaka is, however, the most popular reading. Sudhakara Dvivedi follows the reading Kāmpilyaka and suggests its identification with Kalpi near Jhansi in Uttar Pradesh,¹¹¹ which is untenable, for the ancient name of Kalpi was Kālapriya,^{111a} not Kāmpilyaka. Kāpittha, according to Ūtpala, was a village where there was a Sun-temple (*Kāpitth-ākhye grāme yo-sau bhagavān savitā sūryas= tasmāl = labdhaḥ prapto varaḥ prasādo yena*). It is usually identified with the village of Kayatha, about 12 miles from Ujjain on the Ujjain-Maksi road.¹¹² The Vikram University, Ujjain, has recently carried out archaeological excavations at this village; these excavations have revealed the existence of an early chalcolithic culture going back to the second millennium BC. Remains of the statues of Sūrya and other Hindu divinities datable to the period from AD 600 to 900 have also been reported. It is also argued that the *kapittha* (rose-apple) trees grow abundantly at and near Kayatha and that several legends concerning Varāhamihira are still in currency there. But these facts, howsoever convincing they may appear to be, do not warrant by themselves the identification of Kayatha with Varāhamihira's Kāpittha or Kāpitthaka. The point at issue is neither the antiquity of nor the abundance of the rose-apple trees at the place. There are several localities where the *kapittha* trees can be seen in abundance, but they are not, for that reason, known as Kāpitthaka or by similar names. The only point that the excavations may be taken to have established is that the place was a centre of various Brahmanical sects and quite ancient. They cannot go beyond it. The legends about Varāhamihira said to have been current at Kayatha appear to have been introduced after some scholars like Pandit Suryanarayan Vyas suggested in our own times Varāhamihira's connection with it. This equation may be finally accepted only if it can be shown that Kayatha was known as Kāpittha anciently. No such evidence has so far been brought forward. We have, however, a definite evidence in the form of Yuan Chwang's *Si-yu-ki* that about a century later the town of Saṅkāśya (modern Sankisa) in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh was also known as Kapitha (Kah-pi-t'a).¹¹³ It is not improbable, therefore, that Varāhamihira was born and received his education at the ancient town of Saṅkāśya and migrated to Ujjain later on.¹¹⁴

It is strange to note that in the introductory portion of his commentaries on the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and the *Yogayātrā* Ūtpala describes Varāhamihira both as *Āvantikācārya* and *Magadhadviḥja*, which, if taken in ordinary sense, will be hard

to reconcile. As we have seen above, Varāhamihira describes himself as an *Āvantika*, which is at variance with Utpala's statement that he was a Magadha Brāhmaṇa. It is, therefore, tempting to treat the reading *Magadha-dvija* as an error of Mss. for *Maga-dvija*, meaning a priest of the Sun. But such a possibility is precluded by the fact that Utpala repeats his statement at another place (on LXXXV.4). Kern would account for this puzzling statement by suggesting, on the analogy of a modern practice of the Brāhmaṇas to distinguish themselves by the name of the country whence they themselves or their forefathers have come, that Varāhamihira's family derived its origin from Magadha.¹¹⁵ Sudhakara Dvivedi supposes that he was born in Magadha where he studied astronomy and astrology including Āryabhaṭa's works and later with a longing for fame and wealth left for Ujjain and ultimately settled there permanently.¹¹⁶ Had it been so, Varāhamihira would not have remained reticent about his Magadha extraction. His silence raises doubts as to the authenticity of the reading and its real implication. D.R. Bhandarkar¹¹⁷ draws our attention to a passage of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* according to which Magadha denotes here nothing but a Maga (*Magam dhyāyanti ye tasmāt tena te Magadhāḥ smṛtāḥ*, Brahmaparvan, CXVII.55). An instance of the synonymous use of the words Magadha and Maga is offered by a later tradition which makes the Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas indigenous : It is said that originally they belonged to Magadha whence they came to be called Magas.¹¹⁸ Be that as it may, the name-ending Mihira which, according to the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, was the *gotra* of R̥jihva and is borne at present by many Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas, coupled with the mention of the Magas as the only priests of the Sun, makes out a clear case for Varāhamihira's Maga ancestry.¹¹⁹

That Varāhamihira was a devotee of the Sun admits of no doubt. His father's name Ādityadasa, his own name-ending Mihira, derived from Mithra, the Iranian Sun-god, his obtaining a boon from the Sun¹²⁰, his obeisance to the Sun in the beginning of all his works except the *Vivahapatala*¹²¹ and his devoting a comparatively larger number of verses to the description of Sūrya icons,¹²² all indicate that the Sun was his family deity. His son Pṛthuyaśas also invokes the Sun in the opening verse of his *Ṣaṭpañcāśikā*. As we have seen above, Varāhamihira was regarded as an incarnation of the Sun.

The opinion of A.N.S. Aiyangar¹²³ and K.V.R. Aiyangar¹²⁴ that Varāhamihira had Vaiṣṇavite or Śrī-Vaiṣṇarite leanings and that he came into contact with the Vaiṣṇava saints (*Āḷwārs*) who were preaching the philosophy of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism

in the Tamil country has nothing to commend itself.¹²⁵

The way Varāhamihira stresses the importance of a learned *sāmvatsara* for a king probably shows that he was patronized by some powerful monarch. Opinions vary on the question as to who that ruler may have been. His identification with Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjain (6th century AD) as proposed by Bhau Daji¹²⁶ and with the king Vikramāditya, who is said to have ascended the throne in Śaka 466 or AD 544, as suggested by Kern,¹²⁷ may at best be regarded as conjectures without any basis. B. Bhattacharya takes the statement of Āmarāja quoted above (i.e., Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509) to refer to the Vikrama era (i.e., he died in AD 451) and thinks that he lived in the court of Candragupta II Vikramāditya.¹²⁸ The absurdity of his view is obvious from the fact that he has to go to the extent of supposing that the author of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* is different from that of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Bṛhajjātaka*.

However, we have a very clear evidence on this point in the *BS*. Though Varāhamihira is quite reticent about rulers except only the epic hero Yudhiṣṭhira to the point of aversion, in the chapter on *śākunas* or omens he refers to king Dravyavardhana as one of the authorities whose writings he consulted. Had it been an ordinary reference to an author, it would have had no significance in the present context. However, the manner of mentioning is such as to show, nay prove, that Varāhamihira had a special personal knowledge of and respect for him. He is referred to immediately after an author who wrote his work on the subject on the basis of the views of traditional authors like Śakra, Śukra, Vāgīśa (Bṛhaspati), Kapiṣṭhala, Garutmat (a mythical figure as indicated by Utpala's rendering of the name by Vainateya, viz. Garuḍa), Bhāguri and Devala and before the Saptarṣis (Seven Sages) and numerous Yātrā-writers including Garga and Sanskrit and Prakrit works which Varāhamihira is stated to have utilised for his chapter (LXXXV) on *śākunas* (*sarva-śākuna-saṅgraha*). Based on Bhāradvāja's work as it reportedly was, Dravyavardhana's book must have been of a fairly high standard. However, Varāhamihira not only mentions his work before reputed authorities like the Seven Sages and definitely historical writer Garga, but, besides describing him as *Mahārājādhirāja* and king (*nṛpa*) of Avanti or Ujjayinī (in this context), employs for him alone of all the authorities the honorific *śrī* (illustrious) which is definitely indicative of the high esteem in which he held Dravyavardhana. There was obviously some special relationship between Varāhamihira and king Dravyavardhana, and it may be reasonably concluded that the latter was the royal

patron of the former at the time of the composition of the *BS*. Even if this conclusion is for some reason not found acceptable, it can be definitely concluded that he was a contemporary of Varāhamihira, though, it must be added emphatically, we are strongly inclined to prefer the alternative interpretation.

Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana was in all probability the successor of the Aulikara emperor Yaśodharman *alias* Viṣṇuvardhana and the last known member of the Aulikara family. He flourished about the middle of the sixth century AD when the *BS*, which alone refers to him, was composed. He shifted the family capital from Dasapura or Mandasor to Ujjayinī owing to its renown as a centre of learning and business and more appropriate and convenient politically as it would have allowed him to exercise greater control over the Maitrakas who appear to have been his as well as his ancestors' feudatories. (For a detailed discussion of this problem, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Dravyavardhana of Avanti: Royal Patron of Varāhamihira", *Prāci-Prabhā, Perspectives in Indology (Essays in Honour of Professor B.N. Mukherjee)*, eds., D.C. Bhattacharyya and Devendra Handa, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 163-75).

The large variety of topics dealt with by Varāhamihira and his minute knowledge of the economic products of and the customs obtaining in different regions indicate that he must have toured extensively throughout the country.

Tradition also says that he visited a foreign country, probably Yavana. A.N. Upadhye contributed a short but interesting paper¹²⁹ proposing to identify Varāhamihira with Buzūrmehr who, according to some Persian traditions, rendered the fables of the *Pañcatantra* into Pahlvi at the instance of Khusrau Nushirwan, king of Persia, who ruled from AD 531 to 576. He thinks that the word *varāha* in a personal name is not quite palatable and possibly the author's name has a foreign tinge; that his original name might have been Brāhanmitra; that the presence of *Br̥hat* in the titles of two of his works may not be accidental and the author might be indicating his own name there, for though the "*Br̥hajjātaka*" may be in contrast to his *Laghujātaka*, but it must be remembered that there is no *Laghusamhitā* as against his *Br̥hatsamhitā*, a title like the *Gargasamhitā*, etc."; and that at an early age he had an opportunity to spend some years in a foreign country, probably Persia, where he was known as Buzūrmehr, the more easily pronounceable form of which is Varāhamihira.

The theory is indeed very ingenious but not convincing. Varāha forming part

of a name may not be palatable, but is certainly not uncommon and without a precedent. Names like Varāha,¹³⁰ Varāhadāsa,¹³¹ Varāhadeva,¹³² Varāhadinna,¹³³ Varāhadatta¹³⁴ and Varāhasimha¹³⁵ are known from inscriptions. Even such opprobrious names as Śvetāśvatara, Śunaśśepha, Kaṇapadanta and Vātavyādhi are on record. The word *brhat* in the titles of four (not two) of his works does not represent the author's name but stands in contrast to the abridged versions of the same works; we know from a large number of quotations in Utpala's commentary on the *Brhat-saṃhitā* that Varāhamihira also wrote an abridged version of the *Samhitā* known as *Svalpa*—or *Samāsa-saṃhitā*.¹³⁶ Even admitting for a moment that Varāhamihira visited Persia, it will be extremely strange that he should have referred to himself and should have been known in his native country not by his original name but by a name which is a corruption of its (of Brhanmitra) foreign form. Moreover, if at all Varāhamihira visited any foreign country, it must have been Greece or Rome, for he shows close understanding of Greek astrology, highly extols the Greeks' proficiency in astrology and uses a large number of Greek words in Sanskritised form.¹³⁷ In our view the name is actually derived from that of a culture centering round the Sun and popularized in India by Iranian priests called Magi.¹³⁸

IV

LEGENDS AND MYTHS

In the absence of necessary biographical details, many legends and stories have gathered round Varāhamihira, some of which may be recorded here. Ch. 8 of the 3rd Pratisargaparvan of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*¹³⁹ narrates a story which is summarised below:

The astrologer of Satyadatta, king of Kāñcī, had a son, Pūṣan by name, who, on his death, went to the abode of the Sun. The Sun predicted that he would incarnate himself as Mihirācārya in the house of Rudrapaśu at Ujjayinī. He was born in the Mūlagaṇḍānta-viṣaya and Abhijid-yoga and was, therefore, thrown away in a river; he reached Laṅkā where he was brought up by demonesses and studied astronomy; he was sent back to Ujjain by Vibhiṣaṇa; there he remodelled into three divisions the *Jyotiṣa vedāṅga*, which had been destroyed by the Mlecchas.

A mischievous floating verse tells us that Śabarasvāmin, the well-known scholiast of *Mīmāṃsā*, married four wives from four castes and had six sons

from them: Varāhamihira from the Brāhmaṇa wife, Bhartṛhari and Vikrama from the Kṣatriya wife, Haricandra and Śaṅku from the Vaiśya wife and Amara from the Śūdra wife.¹⁴⁰ Kane informs us that the real name of Śābarasvāmin, who lived sometime between AD 100 and 500, was Ādityadeva, the former name being due to his having protected himself from Jaina persecution by passing off as a forester.¹⁴¹ We cannot be sure if Varāhamihira's father Ādityadāsa can be identified with Śābarasvāmin.¹⁴² But Ādityadāsa is described by some commentators as a learned astrologer (*kārttāntikottama*),¹⁴³ whereas Śābarasvāmin was a *mīmāṃsaka*.

Some legends recorded by comparatively modern Jaina writers make Varāhamihira a younger or elder brother of the Jaina patriarch Bhadrabāhu and thereby a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya. Merutunga in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*¹⁴⁴ (14th century AD) records one such story current in his time. We are told that Varāha, a Brāhmaṇa boy of Pāṭaliputra, had from the very childhood an inclination towards astrology. But due to poverty he had to earn his livelihood by grazing the cattle. Once he drew a horoscope on a rock but forgot to efface it before returning home. When he remembered and went to efface it, he found a lion sitting over it. But he effaced it with great courage. The lion appeared before him as the Sun god and being pleased with the boy's courage and faith, showed him all the planets and stars. Since then he came to be called Varāhamihira, became an astrologer of king Śrīnanda and composed the *Vārāha Saṃhitā*. Once when blessed with a son, he predicted full 100 years' life for the boy and all except his younger brother Bhadrabāhu joined the festivities. When asked about the reason, Bhadrabāhu predicted that the child would die on the 20th day and his prediction came true. Being utterly disappointed at this, Varāhamihira was about to consign all the *śāstras* to fire, but was consoled and prevented from doing so by Bhadrabāhu. But Varāhamihira, being jealous of Bhadrabāhu, resorted to black magic and troubled his followers for averting which Bhadrabāhu composed his *Upasargahara-stotra*.

This story is related with some minor differences and elaboration of details by Rājaśekharaśūri in his *Prabandha-kośa*, also called *Caturviṃśati-prabandha* after the number of *prabandhas* or episodes included in it. But it locates the scene of the episode at the famous city of Pratiṣṭhānapura (modern Paithan, Aurangabad District, Maharashtra) in Dakṣiṇāpatha. The version of the story narrated in the Sukhabodhinī gloss on the *Kalpa-sūtra* makes the anecdote centre round the son of Varāhamihira's patron instead of his own son. (For a detailed discussion, see

Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Varāhamihira and Bhadrabāhu", *Religion and Culture of the Jains*, ed. D.C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1973, pp. 71-95).

Bhadrabāhu was regarded as the author of two astrological works, a commentary on the *Sūryaprajñapti* and the *Bhādrabāhvī Saṁhitā*. This and similar other stories¹⁴⁵, therefore, appear to have been invented with the intention of showing the superiority of Bhadrabāhu over Varāhamihira, the greatest Brāhmaṇical astrologer, and of Jain astrology over Brāhmaṇical astrology.¹⁴⁶

On the alleged authority of 'some old Gujarathi text' which he 'heard during his travels', B. Suryanarayana Rao narrates a marvellous story¹⁴⁷ which may be summarised as follows: Ādityadāsa and Satyavatī alias Indumatī, inhabitants of Kapittha *agrahāra*, 100 miles south-west of Ujjain, got a son in their fifties and named him Mihira, for he was born in fulfilment of a boon of the Sun god. Impressed by his extraordinary skill in astrology, Vikramāditya made him a gem of his court. When Vikramāditya's queen bore a son, Mihira predicted that he (the son) would be killed by a boar on a particular day in a certain month in the 18th year. When in spite of all possible precautions this prophecy came out true, the emperor was greatly impressed and honoured the great astrologer by conferring on him the emblem and the style of Varāha, whence he came to be known as Varāhamihira.

Many regions of India were keen to associate themselves with Varāhamihira as with several other literary celebrities like Kālidāsa, and people point to several places in connection with him. There is one site near Barachampa in the 24-Paragnas district of West Bengal persistently associated with Varāhamihira. The mound known as Varāhamihira's house is situated to the north-east of the Barachampa Railway station. It has been cut by a road passing through it and the large number of bricks of big dimensions were reported to be lying on the roadway and on either side, indicating the existence of the remains of an ancient building. (See *ASI, AR*, 1922-23, pp. 109-10). The great fame of Varāhamihira in Bengal is vouched for by the popularity of the agricultural proverbs regarding rainfall and crops attributed to Khānā supposed to be the daughter-in-law of Varāha and consort of Mihira, the two components of Varāhamihira's name being separated and regarded as the names of father and son, which is an example of confused traditions. (For a collection of Khānā's proverbs, see Kali Prasanna Vidyaratna, (ed.), *Khānār Vacana* (Bengali), Calcutta, Bengali Samvat 1361.)

V

WORKS AND THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The science of astronomy is divided into three branches (*skandhas*), viz., 1. *Tantra* or mathematical astronomy, 2. *Horā* including nativity, horoscopy for weddings and nuptials and prognostications for journeys, and 3. *Samhitā* or mundane astrology (I.9). As Varāhamihira says himself, he composed works in all the three branches (CVI.14; BJ, XXVIII.6). The first branch is at present represented only by what he calls *Karaṇa*¹⁴⁸ and which Utpala and Alberuni refer to and is known at present as *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, apparently because it epitomises the salient features of the five *siddhāntas* current in his time, namely, the *Pauliśa*, the *Romaka*, the *Vasiṣṭha*, the *Saura* and the *Paitāmaha*.¹⁴⁹ Utpala's commentary on the *Brhatsamhitā* abounds in quotations from the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*. But Alberuni (I. 153) had probably no access to it, for he had no correct idea of its contents. "Varāhamihira", says he, "has composed an astronomical handbook of small compass called *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, which name ought to mean that it contains the pith and marrow of the preceding five *Siddhāntas*. But this is not the case, nor is it so much better than they as to be called the most correct one of the five. So the name does not indicate anything but the fact that the number of *Siddhāntas* is five." The work was lost for all practical purposes, and the patient investigations of Sanskritists yielded only two badly preserved manuscripts on the basis of which it has been edited by G. Thibaut and Sudhakara Dvivedi along with a Sanskrit commentary by the latter (Banaras, 1889). On the basis of some more manuscripts discovered thereafter it was edited afresh by David Pingree with notes by O. Neugebauer twenty-five years ago (Copenhagen, 1970-71, two parts). Taking all this material as well as all the extant manuscripts of the work into consideration it has been critically edited recently by K.V. Sarma with English translation and notes by T.S. Kuppanna Sastry with the assistance, in some portion, from K.S. Shukla and S. Hariharan (Madras 1993). Its value for historical purposes can hardly be overestimated for it forms the only source of our knowledge of the contents of the aforesaid five *Siddhāntas* and the views of some earlier astronomers whose works are lost to us irrecoverably. From the introductory portion of Utpala's gloss on the *Laghujātaka* it appears that Varāhamihira prepared an abridged version of his *Karaṇa* also which is no more extant (*Varāhamihira... jyotiḥśāstrasāṅgraham kṛtvā tad=eva vistaram granthabhīrūṇām kṛte saṅkṣiptam gaṇitaśāstram kṛtvā horāśāstram vaktukāmah*).

His works in the other two branches exist in a double form—copious and abridged. The *Bṛhajjātaka*, the *Bṛhadvivāhapātala*, and the *Bṛhadyātrā* along with their abridged versions, the *Laghujātaka*, the *Svalpavivāhapātala*, and the *Svalpayātrā* belong to the second branch. Alberuni (I,158) informs us that the *Bṛhajjātaka*¹⁵⁰ was commented upon by Balabhadra who flourished sometime before Utpala. The commentaries available at present are : (1) the Jagaccandrikā, also known as Cintāmaṇi and Vivṛti, by Utpala, (2) the Jātaka-vivaraṇa by Mahīdhara,¹⁵¹ also known as Mahīdāsa and probably identical with the celebrated commentator of the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* and the author of the *Mantramahodadhi* (AD 1581),¹⁵² (3) the Nilotpaliyā,¹⁵³ probably so called after the name of the commentator, (4) the Prakāśa by Nityaprakāśa Sūri,¹⁵⁴ (5) the Daśādhyāyī,¹⁵⁵ (6) the Naukā, also known as Horā-vivaraṇa or Varāhamihira-horā-tātparya-sāgara¹⁵⁶, and (7) the Subodhini.¹⁵⁷ Of these only Utpala's commentary has so far been published. The *Laghujātaka*, also known as *Svalpa*—or *Sūkṣma-jātaka*, was commented upon by Utpala and rendered into Arabic by Alberuni (I,158). The great popularity enjoyed by these two works is attested by a large number of commentaries in Sanskrit as also in modern Indian languages. The *Bṛhadyātrā* or the *Bṛhadyogayātrā* was also known as *Mahāyātrā* and had a gloss by Sūryadeva Somasut of the Naidhruva gotra as will appear from the concluding part of his gloss on Muñjāla's *Laghumānasa* (*tato Varāhamihira-kṛtā Mahāyātrā saṅkṣepato ucyāhryātā*).¹⁵⁸ It was also called *Yakṣye=śvamedhikā*¹⁵⁹ or *Yakṣye=śvamedhīyā Yātrā*,¹⁶⁰ evidently after its 2nd verse *Yakṣye=śvamedhena vijitya*, etc. The text is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,¹⁶¹ and in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society¹⁶² and has been recently edited critically by V.R. Pandit (not yet published).¹⁶³ He has also edited the *Svalpayātrā*, also known as *Ṭikaṇikayātrā*.¹⁶⁴ Varāhamihira is also known to have composed another work on journeys called the *Yogayātrā* which Utpala says, was written by him because he regarded the *Yakṣye=śvamedhīyā Yātrā* as imperfect (*tatr-ādau Yakṣye=śvamedhīyām Yātrām vidhāya tām= aparipūrṇām manyamāno = parām Yogayātrām cikīrṣuḥ*, Utpala on YY, I.1.8.¹⁶⁵ Its first nine chapters were edited by H. Kern and the entire work has been published by J.L. Shastri. The last edition is very badly prepared and a critical edition of the entire work will be of great value for students of cultural history. It has a commentary by Utpala¹⁶⁶ which is yet to be published. In his gloss on the *Bṛhajjātaka* (XX.10), Utpala mentions both the large and abridged versions of the *Vivāhapātala*. A *Vivāhapātala* is preserved in a single manuscript which forms the basis of the unpublished edition of V.R. Pandit. It

is commented upon by Utpala. It is difficult to say whether the extant text represents larger or smaller version.

The *Bṛhatsamhitā*, also known as *Vārāhī Samhitā*, comes under the third branch. Its text was edited by Kern (Calcutta, 1864), and Sudhakara Dvivedi published it along with Utpala's commentary (Banaras, 1895-1897). It was translated into Arabic by Alberuni (I,389; II,277) and into English by Kern (only 84 chapters).¹⁶⁷ The Utpala-parimala, an abridged and simplified version of Utpala's commentary, by Bhāskara, son of Kumāra and grandson of Rāma of the Naidhruva Kāśyapa gotra and Vārṣagaṇya family,¹⁶⁸ still awaits publication. The abridged version of the *Bṛhatusamhitā*, called *Samāsa*—or *Svalpa-samhitā*, is known to us only from quotations in Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on the BS.¹⁶⁹ Alberuni's silence about it indicates that the work was lost as early as the first half of the 11th century.¹⁷⁰

Other Works Attributed to Varāhamihira

Apart from the above-mentioned works, Alberuni refers to the *Horāpañcahotṛya* (sic) and a book on architecture (title missing) as Varāhamihira's writings. Utpala's silence about the alleged work on architecture seems to indicate that Chs. 52, 55 and 56 of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* dealing with architecture were also studied independently which fact led Alberuni to treat it as a separate work. Todarānanda also refers to Varāhamihira as an authority on Vāstuvidyā (See *Vāstuvidyā* as cited by B.B. Dutt, *Town-Planning in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1925, p.17). We have instances of several chapters of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* being independently copied and studied. Thus independent manuscripts of *Citramayūra* (Ch. 46),¹⁷¹ *Jalārgalaśāstra*¹⁷² or *Ḍṛgargala*¹⁷³ (mistake for *Dagārgala* or *Dakārgala*, Ch. 53), and *Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa*¹⁷⁴ (Ch. 55) are recorded in manuscript catalogues.

Alberuni (I,158; II,277) is certainly mistaken in assigning to Varāhamihira the *Ṣaṭpañcāśikā* which is really a work of his son Pṛthuyāśas.¹⁷⁵

1. *Vaṭakaṇikā*: Kane has shown from references in Ballālasena's works that Varāhamihira wrote a work on portents called *Vaṭakaṇikā* whence about 120 verses are cited in the *Adbhutasāgara*.¹⁷⁶
2. *Śṛṅgāra-taraṅgiṇī*: Ragunātha Manohara (between 1675 and 1700 AD) in his *Kavi-kaustubha*, a work on poetics, mentions the *Śṛṅgāra-taraṅgiṇī* as a work of Varāhamihira (*Varāhamihirasya Śṛṅgāra-taraṅgiṇyām*, fol. 12).¹⁷⁷ A commentary on the *Amaru-śataka*, entitled *Śṛṅgāra-taraṅgiṇī*, by Sūryadāsa

or Sūryasūri is noticed by Aufrecht¹⁷⁸ and Dikshit.¹⁷⁹ It is possible that Raghunātha Manohara may have mistaken in assigning the commentary to Varāhamihira. But it seems more probable that our author composed an independent treatise on erotics or poetics.

The following works, still existing in manuscripts only, are also attributed to Varāhamihira:—

3. *Pañca-pakṣī*: It is a short treatise on divination by means of the letters *a, i, u, e* and *o*, with a commentary. It is written in Devanāgarī characters of about AD 1750. The text ends on folio 10b. It concludes with the verse—
Varāhamihireṇ=oktam sadyaḥ pratyayakāraṁ 1
*Lagnāmśa-kāṭhinam jñātvā samāseṇa svaśaktiḥ 11*¹⁸⁰
4. *Daivajña-vallabhā* : It is a treatise on divination. It ends with the same verse as *BJ*, XXVIII.9, except for the substitution of *Horām Varāhamihiro rucirām cakāra* by *Yatnād=etām Varāhamihiro racayāñcakāra*.¹⁸¹ That it is unlikely to be a work of Varāhamihira appears from the opening stanza which contains an invocation to Íśvara, who is described as Bhairava and Advaita, instead of Sūrya, his family deity.
5. *Praśna-cūḍāmaṇi*: A treatise on divination in 86 verses. It is probably a work of late origin (Śaka 1686) by one Candrasekhara.¹⁸²
6. *Praśna-mahodadhī*: A treatise on *Praśna-vidyā* with Śrīdhara's gloss. It breaks off in the 7th chapter, and extends from folio 27a to 37b. It begins with the verse—
Varāhamihir-ārthakya (-cārya) kṛta-Praśna-mahodadhau 1
*Śrīdharah kurute vṛttim pūrvam lok-ānukampayā 11*¹⁸³
7. *Praśna-candrikā*¹⁸⁴: It seems that Varāhamihira actually composed a work on *Praśna*. His authority on this subject is cited in Nilakaṇṭha's *Jyotiṣa-kaumudī*¹⁸⁵ and Nārāyaṇa's *Praśna-Vaiṣṇava*.¹⁸⁶
8. *Aṅga-cūḍāmaṇi*: It consists of 225 *śloka*s and covers 47 folia written in Bengali characters.¹⁸⁷
9. *Jātakārṇava-saṅgraha* : A Ms. of *Jātakārṇava* preserved in Nepal Durbar Library has three chapters.¹⁸⁸ In the India Office Library, the same Ms. bears the title *Chāyādhikāra* and has seven chapters.¹⁸⁹ Elsewhere it is said to consist of 84 verses covering 6 folia.¹⁹⁰

10. *Yogārṇava*¹⁹¹
11. *Jyotiṣārṇava*.¹⁹²
12. *Sūtikādhyāya*.¹⁹³
13. *Puṣkaranyādi-paddhati*.¹⁹⁴
14. *Taḍāga-paddhati*.¹⁹⁵
15. *Jātakābharaṇa*.¹⁹⁶
16. *Daśā-cintāmaṇi*.¹⁹⁷

Chronological Order of Known Works

There is sufficient evidence, internal and external, for determining the relative chronology of Varāhamihira's works. That the *Bṛhatsamhitā* was his last major work and was preceded by his writings on mathematical astronomy and horoscopy is evidenced by the statements of Varāhamihira himself and his commentator Utpala. The latter in the introductory portion of his commentary on the *Bṛhatsamhitā* says that the author undertook the composition of the *Samhitā* after he had finished his works on the first two branches of Jyotiṣa (*gaṇitaskandha-horāskandhau saṅkṣiptau kṛtvā samhitāskandham saṅkṣiptam cikīrṣuḥ*. Cf. *Yady = api gaṇitaskandha-horāskandhau prāg = ev-ōktau*, on I.8) and Varāhamihira tells us the same thing (*Hor-ānyo = ṅgaviniścayaś = ca kathitaḥ skandhas = tṛtīyo = paraḥ*, I.9). We are told that the retrograde and direct motions of planets along with their eclipse and reappearance,¹⁹⁸ the determination of the magnitude of the sun's eclipse by the moon's deflections and the actual time of the conjunction of the sun and the moon,¹⁹⁹ the method of predicting planetary conflicts²⁰⁰ and the conjunction of the moon with the constellation of Rohini²⁰¹ were already dealt with by him in the *Karaṇa* which, Utpala says, is the same as the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*. We also learn from *Bṛhatsamhitā* that Varāhamihira had already treated of the auspicious and inauspicious signs of fire (XLII.31), marks of the altar, priest and fire in connection with planetary sacrifice,²⁰² movements of horses and elephants betokening good and bad results²⁰³, revelation of future by dreams²⁰⁴, the mode of propitiating planets at the planetary sacrifice²⁰⁵ and the auspicious and inauspicious articles seen at the commencement of a journey²⁰⁶ in his work on *yātrā*. In most cases Varāhamihira seems to refer to the *Bṛhadyātrā* whence Utpala quotes relevant verses, while in some cases the *Yogayātrā* appears to be

intended. On XLII.31, Utpala takes *Yātrā* to mean the *Yogayātrā* (*Yātrāyām vistaro = bhīhitah, Yogayātrāyām vistara ukto mayā*) and quotes seven verses the first five of which are YY, VIII.9-12, 14. On XLIII.18, Utpala quotes four verses from the *Yogayatra*, two on the movements of horses (XI.15, 14) and two on those of elephants (X.62-63)²⁰⁷. On L.7, he cites *Siddhārthak-ādarśa—payo = njanāni* and *Karpās-auṣadha-kṛṣṇadhānyam* which are the beginnings of YY, XIII.10 and XIII.14 respectively. On CIII. 60, he introduces two verses with the phrase *Yātrā-kālo = bhīhita ācāryeṇa*; the second verse is YY,I.19. There can thus be no doubt that both the major works on *yātrā* were composed before the *Samhitā*. In XCV.13, Varāhamihira refers to his work on nativity.²⁰⁸ It is stated in the concluding verse of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* that the author had already composed his treatises on *yātrā*, *jātaka* and *karaṇa*.²⁰⁹ It would appear from I.10 that the works on horoscopy composed before the *Bṛhatsamhitā* were major ones, viz., the *Bṛhajjātaka*, the *Bṛhadyātrā*, the *Yogayātrā* and the *Bṛhadvivāhapāṭala*.²¹⁰ The *Bṛhatsamhitā* was thus the last in the series of his bigger works.

The absence in the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* of references to any of his writings as having been composed earlier, the explicit statement that he would deal with certain astrological matters in the work to be composed after the *Horā* and *Tantra* (i.e. *Bṛhatsamhitā*,²¹¹ the mention in the *Bṛhajjātaka* of the *Karaṇa* (i.e. *Pañca-siddhāntikā*) as an earlier work (XXVIII.6) and the fact that the *Karaṇa* is almost always mentioned first in the order of enumerating earlier works followed by both Varāhamihira and Utpala show that the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* was his first composition.

Both Utpala (*gyotihśāstra-saṅgrahakṛt gaṇitasakandh-ānantaram horāskandham cikīrṣuḥ*) and Mahidhara (*...gaṇitaskandhānantaram horāskandham cikīrṣuḥ*)²¹² aver in the introductory portion of their commentaries on the *Bṛhajjātaka* that it was taken up immediately after the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*. The *Bṛhajjātaka* refers to the *Vivāha* (XXIV.16) and *Yātrā* works (XXVIII.3) as to be composed in future. Utpala also states that the *Vivāhapāṭala* was yet to be written (*vaksyamāṇa-Vivāha-pāṭal-okta...*, on BJ, XXIV.16). The *Bṛhadyātra* mentions the *Jātaka* as composed earlier (*Yath-oktaṁ jātaka sarvaṁ tath-aiv-ātr-āpi cintayet*, BY,II.8) and makes a pointed reference to its *Prakīrṇakādhyāya* (*Ādau prakīrṇak-ādhyāya-coditāḥ kārak-ākhyāś = ca*, BY,XI.15) which is Ch. 22 of the *Bṛhajjātaka*. The *Yogayātrā* (IV.52) and the *Vivāhapāṭala* also refer to the *Jātaka* as an earlier work (*Uktaṁ janmani yat tad=eva bhavitā yady = aṅganānām phalam*, VP, 16; *Pūrvam ca yad=yuvati-janma-vidhau may-*

oktam, VP, 97).²¹³ In the introduction to his gloss on the *Yogayātrā*, Utpala says that the author first composed the *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, then *Jātaka*, then the *Yaksyeśvamedhīyā Yātrā* and that he considered the last mentioned work to be imperfect and therefore composed the *Yogayātrā*.²¹⁴ He also avers that the *Vivāhapāṭala* was written after the *Yātrā* works (*Varāhamihira jyotiḥśāstrādi-saṅgraha-kṛdyātrā-vidhānād=anantaram Vivāhapāṭalam cikīrṣuḥ*, introduction to the comm. on VP.).²¹⁴ It will seem from the above discussion that the major works were composed in the following chronological order: (i) *Pañca-siddhāntikā*, (ii) *Bṛhajjātaka*, (iii) *Bṛhadyātrā*, (iv) *Yogayātrā*, (v) *Vivāhapāṭala* and (vi) *Bṛhatsamhitā*.

It seems that after completing all his major works, Varāhamihira retouched them from an editor's point of view and introduced some editorial remarks here and there. This fact explains the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* (XV.10) reference to the *Samhitā* and the *Bṛhajjātaka* (XXVIII.6) reference to the *Vivāhapāṭala* and the *Samhitā* in the past tense.

Nothing definite can be said regarding the chronological position of the abridged versions of the above works. The opening verse of the *Laghujātaka* tells us that it was composed after the *Bṛhajjātaka*.²¹⁶ But Utpala in the beginning of his gloss (*Hitā*) on the *Laghujātaka* informs us that the author first abridged his work on mathematical astronomy and then *Horaśāstra*.²¹⁷ Thus there are two possibilities; either each smaller work was written immediately after the corresponding major work or all the smaller works were composed subsequent to the *Bṛhatsamhitā*. It would follow that Varāhamihira had at the beginning of his literary career conceived the entire plan of his astrological and astronomical works, both larger and abridged, and carried it out successfully.

VI

VALUE OF HIS WORKS FOR CULTURAL HISTORY

Being the last major work, the *Bṛhatsamhitā* is a product of mature age and accumulated experience. It is a monument of encyclopaedic learning and a source-book of inestimable value to a student of Indian cultural history. Our author has brought topics of varied interest within the purview of his *Samhitā* as will be revealed by a cursory review of its contents.

After introducing the subject and describing the qualifications of an expert diviner in the first two chapters, the author deals in the next eleven chapters (3-13) with the motions of the sun, the moon, planets, Rāhu, comets, Canopus and the Great Bear. Chs. 14-6 allot countries, peoples and various objects to constellations and planets and are followed by four chapters (17-20) treating of planetary conflicts, the conjunction of the moon with planets, the years presided over by each of the planets and their results, and planetary triangles. Chs. 21-8 are very important to students of rainfall in ancient India. Ch. 29 describing prognostics from the growth of fruits and flowers is followed by an account of dawn and twilight (30), conflagration of quarters (31), earthquake (32), meteors (33), haloes round the luminaries (34), rainbow (35), aerial city (36), mock sun (37) and hurricane (38). Astrological factors accounting for the growth and prosperity of crops and other commodities and the fluctuation of prices are treated of in Chs. 39-41. The mode of celebrating the festival of Indra's banner forms the subject-matter of Ch. 42. Ch. 43 contains the oldest extant account of the lustration (*nīrājana*) of horses, elephants and men, a rite which is still very popular. Prognostics from the movements of a wagtail are given in Ch. 44. Portents and ceremonial ablution called *Puṣya-snāna* claim one chapter each (45, 47), the intervening chapter (46) being devoted to a summary of the foregoing topics. Details about ornamental gold-bands and swords are found in Chs. 48-9. Next two chapters deal with the *aṅgavidyā* and the signs of moles, etc. The five chapters dealing with residential (52) and temple architecture (55), plasters (56), iconometry and iconography (57) and sculptural materials (58) are the oldest extant texts on the subject and considerably add to our knowledge of Indian architecture and sculpture. The only extant account of the exploration of water-springs is found in Ch. 53 and that of arbori-horticulture in Ch. 54. Some verses (111-115) of Ch. 53 give certain means of breaking hard rocks. The installation of images is dealt with in Ch. 59. Seven chapters (60-66) are devoted to fauna. Next three chapters treat of the signs of men (67) and women (69) in general and of the five great men (68) in particular. After mentioning beliefs pertaining to clothes (70), Varāhamihira proceeds to describe fly-whisks (71), parasols (72) and erotic remedies (75). He offers unstinted tribute to womanhood (73) and extols certain ethical qualities as the best means of winning over others (74). The Gandhayukti section (76) dealing with cosmetics and perfumery is of great value for the history of applied chemistry in ancient India. The union of man

and woman and matters relating to pregnancy dealt with in Ch. 77 would better form subject-matter of a treatise on erotics and medicine. We get a fascinating account of raw materials and techniques of fashioning furniture in Ch. 78. Next four chapters (79-82) deal with trade in precious stones including pearls and pearl-necklaces. Our author had first-hand information of the subject as will appear from the mention of certain code-words in use among dealers in pearls. Two short chapters enumerate beliefs about lamps (83) and toothsticks (84). Next eleven chapters (85-95) are devoted to *śākunas*. Some purely astrological matters are dealt with in Chs. 96-103. The ritual of Rūpasattra occupies Ch. 104. The following two chapters give some concluding editorial remarks (105) and table of contents (106).

As will be clear from the above survey of contents, many chapters are of a highly specialised nature and were for this reason studied as independent treatises by people anxious for specialisation in different branches of practical knowledge. As we have already shown, Alberuni remembers Varāhamihira as an authority on architecture and the sections on temple architecture and exploration of water-veins were studied independently. It is on account of Chs. 79-82 dealing with precious stones that he was regarded as an authority on *Ratnaśāstra*.²¹⁸

The *Brhatsamhitā* is extremely valuable from another point of view also. Utpala styles Varāhamihira as *mahāgranthabhīru* and *samāsoktipriya*, i.e., unwilling to harp on a topic at length and preferring to make brief statements. It is confirmed by Varāhamihira himself (cf. I.2-5). He was a man of encyclopaedic learning. He studied older works not only in Sanskrit but also in Prakrit (LXXXV.3). He had good knowledge of Greek astrology and uses no less than thirty-six Greek words.²¹⁹ Though he did not lack in critical faculty (cf. V.1-18), it is his practice to quote older authorities (cf. IX.7). In consequence, the work has become a treasure-house of information about a host of earlier writers and their works whose names would have been lost to us otherwise.

Varāhamihira was not only an astronomer but also a poet of a high order. He shows skill in the use of figures of speech and an exceptionally large number of metres. Ch. 103 couched in about 60 different metres with their names inserted in relevant verses forms a rich tribute to his efficiency in versifying.²²⁰ XII.1-11; XIII.1-2; XIX.16; LV.4-7 and Chs. IV and V of the *Yogayātrā* are especially

remarkable for skilled use of some of the *arthālaṅkāras*.²²¹ It is interesting to note in the present context that Kṣemendra in his *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* (26.79) mentions Varāhamihira as a poet.

BS, LXXIII. 1 (*Jaye dharitryāḥ puram eva sāram pure grhaṁ sadmani c-aikadeśah/ Tatr-āpi śayyā śayane varā strī ratn-ojjvalā rājya-sukhasya sārāḥ//*) is probably the basis of Rudraṭa's illustration of the *alaṅkāra* called Sāra (*Rājye sāram vasudhā vasundharāyām puram pure saudham/Saudhe talpaṁ talpe var-āṅgan-ānaṅga-śarvasvam//*) which is cited by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvya-prakāśa*.²²²

We may conclude our treatment of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* with a few words about its extent. If the concluding chapter (106) is left out of account, it would consist of 105 chapters as commented by Bhattotpala and edited by Sudhakara Dvivedi. Kern's edition contains an additional chapter entitled Rajo-lakṣaṇam (Ch. 38 of his edition). But the penultimate verse of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (CVI. 13) tells us that it consists of 100 chapters and extends over less than 4,000 ślokas. According to Utpala, this number is obtained by omitting the chapters entitled Vāta-cakra (27), Aṅga-vidyā (50), Piṭaka-lakṣaṇa (51), Aśvalakṣaṇa (65) and Hasti-lakṣaṇa (66). But Varāhamihira excludes Chs. 91 (Gaveṅgita), 101 (Rāśi-vibhāga) and 102 (Vivāha-pāṭala) also from the table of contents. Utpala informs us that Ch. 102 was composed by Vindhyavāsin (*Atha prasaṅg-āgatam Vindhyavāsi-kṛtam vivāhapāṭalam vyākhyāyate*). Thus the number remains only 97. It is difficult to say how we can obtain the figure 100. Utpala declares XXV.6, XXVII.9-10 and XXVIII.17 to be spurious (*anārṣa*). XXVIII. 23-4 are not commented upon by him and may be regarded as later interpolations.

The foregoing account of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* would leave no doubt that it is a mine of valuable information on various aspects of the cultural history of ancient India. It has not only chapters devoted to some important topics but important information is also wedded through references of an astrological nature.

While the *Bṛhatsamhitā* is undoubtedly the most valuable of Varāhamihira's writings for cultural history, other works, specially on horoscopy, journeys and marriage, also contain equally valuable information though in a smaller degree. These works supply information not only through direct treatment of themes of cultural importance but also through skilful employment of figures of speech of meaning (*arthālaṅkāras*). These casual references are of very great importance, infact much greater than direct treatment, in as much as they show that the

practices concerned were deep-rooted.

Although Varāhamihira quotes a large number of earlier authorities as will be seen in Chapter VIII, and consequently all his statements do not apply to his own times, it has to be admitted that they would not have been made had they not been true of his age also and therefore we may conclude that in a general way the information contained in his works is applicable to his own age.

As we have seen above, the literary activity of Varāhamihira lay primarily in the first half of the sixth century AD when the classical Gupta idiom had reached a maturity in all aspects. It will, therefore, appear that Varāhamihira's works represent mature Gupta culture.

Notes and References

1. Cf. Keith. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p.528.
2. श्रीमद्वराहमिहिरार्यभटाद्यभीष्ट-शब्दार्थ-रीति-विरहशुभदोऽत्र नूनम्।
Sadratnamālā by Śaṅkaravarman, composed at the instance of Rāmavarman, brother of Udayavarman, king of Kerala—*TCSM*, V, Pt. I, Sanskrit-C, p.6519, No.4448.
 वराहरचिताध्याने ज्योतिषामयने घने।
 यथा यथार्थबुद्धिः स्यात् तथानुज्ञापय प्रभो॥
Haladhara-Saṁhitā of Haladharamiśra (beginning), *TCSM*, IV-A, p.4547, No.3068
3. यच्छास्त्रं सविता चकार विपुलैः स्कन्धैस्त्रिभिर्ज्योतिषं
 तस्योच्छित्तिभयात् पुनः कलियुगे संसृत्य यो भूतलम्।
 भूयः स्वल्पतरं वराहमिहिरिव्याजेन सर्व व्यधा-
 दित्य यं प्रवदन्ति मोक्षकुशलास्तस्मै नमो भास्वते॥

BS, I, p.1, Verse 2

This seems to have been a floating verse which is ascribed by some writers to the *Rājamārtanḍa* of Bhoja, cf. *Jyotiṣa-tattva-kaumudī* of one Śrīnivāsamiśrātmaja (beginning), *TCSM*, VI, Pt. I, p. 7208, No., 5241; *Jyotiṣcandrodaya* of Vatsa family, *ibid*, IV, Pt. I, Sanskrit-A, p.4746, No. 3199. The *Rājamārtanḍa-saṅgraha* of Bhoja (Śaka 964), wrongly ascribed to Varāhamihira, actually begins with this stanza. Cf. H.P. Sastri, *CSMM*, III, p.255, No.305.

4. वरामिहिरोदघौ सुबहुभेदतोयाकुले
 ग्रहर्क्षगणयादसि प्रचुरयोगरत्नोज्ज्वले।
 भ्रमन्ति परितो यतो लघुधियोऽर्थलुब्धाः

BS, I, p.1, verse 3. This and the above verse are repeated in the introductory portion of his scholia on *BJ* and *YY*.

5. पूर्व पूर्वमुनि(निः) ससर्ज विविधं यज्ज्योतिषां विश्वसृष्ट्
सारोद्धारपरौ ततोऽप्यभिमतं दैत्येन्द्रयोर्मन्त्रिणौ।
तस्माद् गर्ग-पराशरादिमुनिभिः प्रोक्तं तदल्पं पुनः
संक्षिप्तं कृतवान् वराहमिहिरोऽर्काशावतारोऽखिलम्॥
Quoted in the *Jyotiścandrodaya*, TCSM, IV, Pt. I, Sanskrit— A.p. 4746, No. 3199.
6. मिहिरं वरामिहिरं वन्दे सन्देहवेदिनं जगताम्।
ज्योतिश्चक्रविभावनहेतुं जगदेकचक्षुरक्षुद्रम्॥
Bijapallava (Ms. dated Śaka 1523=AD 1601) by Kṛṣṇa, CMSML, p.7672, No.11523.
7. ज्योतिश्शास्त्रमिदं विधाय विपुलं त्रिस्कन्धभिन्नं पुरा
लोकानां मतिमान्द्यतः कलियुगे तत्पातभीत्या पुनः।
स्वल्पं तत् सकलं ततो रचितवानादित्यदासात्मजः।
भूत्वा यो मिहिरो वराहमिहिरं नाम्ना नमस्कुम्हि॥
CSMGOML, p. 9481, No.14064.
8. S.B. Dikshit, *HIA*, p. 216 and note.
9. Kalyāṇavarman is variously assigned by scholars to Śaka 500 (Sudhakara Dvivedi, *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, p. 16), 821 (*HIA*, p.486), AD 650 (S.L. Katre, "Kalyāṇavarman's Sārāvali, Fresh Light on its Date", *IC*, XI, pp. 1-9) and AD 750 (D.C. Bhattacharya, "Dates of Bhaṭṭotpala and Kalyāṇavarman", *ibid*, XII, p.82). The present writer has shown elsewhere that the date of Kalyāṇavarman must lie somewhere between AD 650 and 725. This view is based on several considerations, viz. Kalyāṇavarman's indebtedness to Varāhamihira (*Sārāvali*, I.2; XXXIX.9) and Brahmagupta (*ibid.*, XI.2) and Bhaṭṭotpala's hand in the completion of the *Sārāvali*. Vide my paper, "The Date of Kalyāṇavarman: Author of Sārāvali", *JIH*, XLII, pp. 915-920); *Varāhamihira and his times*, Jodhpur, 1991.pp.195-200
10. विस्तरकृतानि मुनिभिः परिहृत्य पुरातनानि शास्त्राणि।
होरातन्त्रं रचितं वराहमिहिरेण संक्षेपात्॥
Sārāvali, I.2
11. कृती जयति जिष्णुजो गणकचक्रचूडामणि—
र्जयन्ति ललितोक्तयः प्रथिततत्रसद्युक्तयः।
वराहमिहिरादयः समबलोक्य येषां कृतीः
कृती भवति मादृशोऽप्यतनुतन्त्रबन्धेऽल्पधीः॥
Sidhānta-śiromaṇi, 1.2
12. Śātānanda tells us that he wrote the *Bhāsvati-kāraṇa* in Śaka 1021 (AD 1098) in accordance with the teachings of Mihira contained in his *Sūrya-siddhānta*—
नत्वा मुरारेश्चरणारविन्दं श्रीमान् शतानन्द इति प्रसिद्धः।
तां भास्वतीं शिष्यहितार्थमाह शाके विहीने शशिपक्षखैकैः॥
अथ प्रवक्ष्ये मिहिरोपदेशात् तत्सूर्यसिद्धान्तसमं समासात्।
Bhāsvati-Kāraṇa, I.1,4.

Taking Mihira to stand for Varāhamihira and regarding the *Surya-siddhanta* as his work, Bentley concluded that Varāhamihira flourished in the eleventh century AD (AR, VI, pp. 559, 572-4). The baselessness of Bentley's views is now beyond doubt. Cf. H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, pp. 390, 482-3; Dikshit, p. 243. That Śātānanda based his work on the *Sūrya-siddhānta* section of the *Pañca-siddhāntikā* is rendered very probable by the colophon of a Ms. of the *Bhāsvatī-karaṇa* in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (CSPMBBRAS, I, p. 84, No. 252):—

इति श्रीशतानन्द-विरचिते पंचसिद्धान्तसम्पत्ते सौर्यो भास्वत्यां परिलेखाधिकारो नाम अष्टमोऽध्यायः।

13. विलोक्य गगादिमुनिप्रणीतं वराहलल्लादिकृतं च शास्त्रम्।
दैवज्ञकण्ठाभरणार्थमेषा विरच्यते ज्योतिषरत्नमाला॥

TCSM, II, Pt. I, Sanskrit—A, p. 2609.

14. महामुनीन्द्रैर्बहुतत्त्वदर्शिभिर्वराहमुख्यै रचिताननेकधा।
प्रबंधसारान् समवेक्ष्य सन्ततं करोम्यहं ज्योतिषतत्त्वकौमुदीम्॥

TCSM, VI, Pt. I, p. 7208, No. 5241.

15. अस्तङ्गतवति मिहिरेऽतिमलिनदोषाकुले च गोविभवे।
उद्वाहादिषु शुद्धिग्रहणार्थं दीपिका क्रियते॥

TCSM, VI, Pt. I, Sanskrit—A, p. 4357.

16. श्रीब्रह्मदासनयजातनयः सुविद्वान् श्रीमानगस्त्यकुलजो यदुनाथभक्तः।
वराहताजिकमुकुन्दमतं समीक्ष्य नारायणः परमशास्त्रमिदं चकार॥

CSMGOML, p. 9421, No. 13976.

17. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, p. 476.

18. E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (hereafter referred to as *Alberuni*), I, p. 366; II, p. 277.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-12. Alberuni had so great admiration for Varāhamihira that even when he found some wrong notion in his works he supposed some esoteric meaning concealed behind it which he was unable to follow.

Ibid., p. 117.

In later times Varāhamihira was looked upon as an ideal of astronomical and astrological scholarship. Cf. Sarkha Plates of Kalacuri Ratnadeva, dated K.888, v.18 (CII, IV, p. 227) where a certain Padmanābha is compared to Varāhamihira:

यः सिद्धान्तद्वयं वेत्ति होरासागरपारगः। संहिताशास्त्रतत्त्वज्ञो वराहमिहिरोपमः॥

For a similar comparison vide *EI*, VI, p. 206, v. 21.

Varāhamihira is also mentioned in the *Jaiminibhārata*, LV. 8. Vide M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 586, fn. I.

20. *Jyotirvid-ābharāṇa*, XXII, 19-20.

21. *Ibid.*, XXII.21.
22. धन्वन्तरिः क्षपणकामरसिंह-शङ्कु-वेतालभट्ट-घटखर्पर-कालिदासाः।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य॥
Ibid., XXII, 10. Also cf. XXII. 9, 19.
23. स्वस्ति श्रीनृपसूर्यसुनुजशके याते द्विवेताम्बरत्रै ३०४२
मानाब्दमिते त्वनेहसि जये वर्षे वसन्तादिके।
चैत्रे श्वेतदले शुभे वसुतिथावादित्यदासादभूद्
वेदाङ्गे निपुणो वराहमिहिरो विप्रो रवेराशिभिः॥
24. *Jyotirvid-ābharana*, I.2.
25. *Ibid.*, XXII.9.
26. BI.VII.3,10,13; XX.10;XXI.3;BY,VII.1;VP,53.
27. XXXIX.1.
28. BY, X.21;BJ, VII.1.
29. *Jyotirvid-ābharana*, XXII.8.
30. *Jyotirvid-ābharana*, X. 110-12.
31. *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, pp. 45-6.
32. *HIA*, p. 476. Also cf. *Vikrama Volume*, p.88, fn. I.
33. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p.534.
34. *BS*, Introduction, pp. 12-4.
35. The commentary was composed in V.S. 1768. Published by Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1908.
36. *HIA*, pp. 212-13, fn.
37. S. K. Dikshit, "Candragupta II, Sāhasāṅka alias Vikramāditya and the Nine Jewels", *IC*, VI (1939-40), pp. 191-210, 376-92.
38. *Ibid.*, p.198.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-8.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
42. U.P. Shah, "Vikramāditya-Saga-I", *JOI*, IV, No, I (September 1954), pp. 69-84.
43. "The Jyotirvid-ābharana and the Nine Jewels", *PO*, V (1940-41), pp.205-209.
44. सप्ताश्विवेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य चैत्रशुक्लादौ।
अर्धास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरे सोमदिवसादये॥
मासीकृते समासे द्विष्टे सप्ताहतेऽष्टयमपक्षैः।
लब्धैर्युतोऽधिमासैस्त्रिंशच्चस्तिथियुतो द्विष्टः॥

रुद्रघ्नः समनुशरो लब्धोनो गुणखसप्तभिर्द्युगणः ।
रोमकसिद्धान्तोऽयं नातिचिरे पौलिशेऽप्येवम् ॥

PS, I. 8-10.

S.K. Dikshit (*IC*, VI (1939-40), pp. 171-210, 376-392) has recently suggested that *veda* in the above verse has the numerical value of 3 (and not 4 as generally believed) and that the compound *sapt-āśvivedaśaṅkhyam* should be taken to mean 327 (and not 427) Śaka=AD 405. Varāhamihira, thus, flourished in AD 405 and was a contemporary of Candragupta II. He takes *dvi-ved-āmbara-trai*, the date of Varāhamihira's birth according to the *Kutuhala-mañjarī*, to denote 3032 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era, that is, 13 years before the beginning of the so-called Sāhasāṅka-Vikrama era of AD 405, i.e. 405-13=AD 392 (and not BC 70). Further, he thinks that the statement of Āmarāja, the commentator of Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, viz., *navādhika-pañcaśata-saṅkhyā-sāke Varāhamihir-ācāryo divaṁ gataḥ*, refers to the Mālava-Vikrama samvat of BC 58-57 (which is different from the Vikrama era of AD 405). Thus he comes to the conclusion that Varāhamihira lived from AD 392 to 451. Dikshit's theory falls to the ground when it is remembered that in astronomical treatises the word *veda* invariably has the numerical value of 4. Cf. *PO*, V, pp. 206-7. Varāhamihira frequently uses *veda* in this sense. Cf. *PS*, II.4,6; IV. 11,24,44; IX.1; XVI.5,11; XVII.3, 16,31,34,43,45,52,57,74; *BJ*, XII.1; *BS*, I, pp.49-50.

45. आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ ।
षड्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥

XIII.3.

Scholars widely differ from one another regarding the interpretation of *ṣaḍ-dvika-pañca-dviyutah*. V.G. Aiyer in his *Chronology of Ancient India* (p.75) thinks that it means 26 times 25, that is, 650 years, while C.V. Vaidya takes it to mean 2566 (*Mahābhārata*, A Criticism, p.68). K.L. Daftari (*The Astronomical Method and its Application to the Chronology of Ancient India*, p.77) quotes this verse in the name of Garga and, like C.V. Vaidya, takes *ṣaḍ-dvika* to mean two sixes or 66. All these interpretations are against Utpala who interprets it as meaning 2526 years. As will be shown in the sequel, this last interpretation is supported by the famous poet-historian of Kashmir—Kalhaṇa.

46. त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः ।
सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पंचसु ॥
पंचाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पंचशतासु च ।
समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूमजाम् ॥

EI, VI, p.7.

47. *The Age of the Mahābhārata War*, Bezwada, 1931.
48. The Persian Emperor Cyrus the Great and the Indian "Śaka Era", *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, Vol. I (1932), pp.61-73, 123-36.
49. "Indian Eras," *JAHS*, XX (1949-50), pp.39-80; XXI (1950-52), pp. 1-40.

50. "Ayanāṁśa in Indian Chronology", *JIH*, XXVIII (1950), pp. 103-110.
51. V. Thiruvengkatachar assumes that *ayanāṁśa* was zero in Varāhamihira's time, relies upon Āmarāja's statement that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509, which he refers to the so-called era of Cyrus and comes to the conclusion that Varāhamihira lived from Śaka 427 to 509 (BC 123-41).
52. T.S. Kuppanna Sastri & K.V. Sarma "The Śaka Era of Varāhamihira" *JIH*, XXXVI (1958), pp. 343-67.
53. *Mahābhārata: A Criticism*, pp.68-69.
54. *Chronology of Ancient India*, p.73.
55. *Life of Varāhamihir*, p.6. D.N. Mukherjee ("The Gupta Era", *IHQ*, VIII [1932], pp. 85 ff.) takes Varāhamihira's Śaka-kāla to refer to the Śākya- or Buddha-kāla of 546 BC.
56. P.V. Kane, "Varāhamihira and the Śaka Era", *JAHS*, XXI, 41-53.
57. Cf. P.C. Sengupta, "Astronomical References in the Mahābhārata and their significance", *JRASBL*, III (1933), pp. 101-19; "Bhārata Battle Traditions," *ibid.*, IV (1938), pp. 393-413; P.V. Kane, *HDS*, III, pp. 898-900.

The other traditions backed by some data placed this event in BC 3101 and BC 1900. The former has the backing of the famous astronomer Aryabhata and is mentioned in the Aihole inscription of the time of Pualakesin II and the latter is referred to in some of the Purāṇas. For a discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. 898 ff.

58. शतेषु षट्षु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले।
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभूवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः॥

Rājataranginī, 1.51.

Cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p.523, fn.2.

59. *El*, XII, pp.65 ff.
60. *HDS*, III, pp.898-99. P.C. Sengupta (*JRASBL*, III, pp.101-119; IV, 393-413) supports Varāhamihira-Kalhaṇa tradition and places the Bhārata war in BC 2449 on the basis of certain statements of an astronomical nature contained in the *Mahābhārata*. This view is, however, criticised by H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 27-29.
For a full discussion of this problem, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Śaka Era of Varāhamihira" *Prof. V.A.Narain Commemoration Volume, Journal of the Bihar Puravid Parishad*, vols. IX-X, 1985-86, pp. 145-57.
61. *JIH*, XXXVI (1958), p. 347.
62. S.B. Dikshit, "The Original Sūryasiddhānta," *IA*, XIX (1890), pp. 47-51; "The Romaka Siddhānta" *ibid.*, p.137.
63. E.g., Kero Pant's *Grahasāadhanakoṣṭhaka* has for its epoch Śaka 1772, but was published in Śaka 1782.

64. Colebrooke, *Algebra of the Hindus*, p. XXXIII; *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, pp. 461-63.
65. He is the second Varāhamihira of the list and is preceded by another astronomer of the same name to whom is assigned the date Śāka 122 (AD 200-201).
66. Brahmagupta was born in Śāka 520 (AD 598-99) and composed his *Siddhānta* at the age of 30—in Śāka 550;—
 पंचाशत्संयुक्तैर्वर्षशतैः पंचभिरतीतैः ॥
 ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्तः सज्जन-गणितज्ञ-गोलवित्-प्रीत्या ।
 त्रिंशद्वर्षेण कृतो जिष्णु-सुत-ब्रह्मगुप्तेन ॥
67. *HIA*, p. 313.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
70. Bhāskara was born in Śāka 1036 and composed the *Siddhānta-sīromaṇi*, when he was 36, i.e. in Śāka 1072:—
 रस-गुण-पूर्ण-मही 1036 सम-शक-नृप-समयेऽभवन् ममोत्पत्तिः ।
 रस-गुण 36 वर्षेण मया सिद्धान्तशिरोमणी रचितः ॥
Siddhānta-sīromaṇi, *Golādhyāya*, *Praśnādhyāya*, verse 58.
71. *Alberuni*, II, p.7.
72. *Ibid.*, I, 392.
73. *Ibid.*, II, pp.86,277 (annotations).
74. A *madhyama meṣa saṅkrānti* fell close to Caitra śukla *pratipadā* of Śāka 427. Dikshit thinks it probable that in order to facilitate calculations of mean motions of planets and *ahargaṇa*, Varāhamihira adopted Śāka 427 as his astronomical epoch, while the *PS* may have been composed a little later. But as *madhyama meṣa saṅkrānti*s also fell close to Caitra śukla *pratipadā* in Śāka 419 and 438, the non-adoption of the latter as astronomical epoch shows that the *PS* cannot be later than Śāka 438, *vide HIA*, p. 212.
75. *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, pp. 240-41; cf. A. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 261, fn. 293.
76. *HIA*, p. 211.
77. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-12; *Gaṇakatarāṅgiṇī*, pp. 11-13 where it is suggested that Varāhamihira may have been about seventeen when he started calculations for his *PS* in AD 505.
78. *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, pp.240-41.
79. *PS*, Introduction, p. XXXVIII.

- 80 Thibaut is at great pains to explain why Varāhamihira borrowed the year of the *Romaka* as the epoch of his *karāṇa*., cf. *ibid*.
81. *IA*, XIX (1890), pp. 138 ff.
82. *PS*, Introduction, p. XXXVII.
- 82a. षष्ठ्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः।
त्र्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह मम जन्मनोज्जीताः॥
83. *BS*, Introduction, p.4. B.L. Mukherji ("The Date of Varāhamihira's Birth", *JASB*, VIII [1912], pp. 275-78) also takes Śaka 427 to be the year of Varāhamihira's birth.
84. *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, pp. 167, 173. Cf. Kern, *BS*, Introduction, pp. 19-20.
85. *Miscellaneous Essays*, II, pp. 481-82. By calculating the position of the Saptarsis at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira as given in *BS*, XIII.3-4, vis-a-vis their supposed position in the Hasta *nakṣatra* for the latitude of Ujjayinī which Varāhamihira adopted as the basis for his calculation, D.G. Dhavale ("The Date of Varāhamihira", *ABORI*, XLVIII-XLIX, pp. 347-55) arrives at Śaka 474 as Varāhamihira's date, which lies well within the extreme ones associated with him, viz., Śaka 427 and 509.
86. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Appendix, II, pp. 457-58.
87. See also Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Varāhamihira and his Times*, pp.3-5,
88. Cf. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 461.
89. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 469.
90. Cf. I.5;III.3; V.4, etc.
91. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 465.
92. For a detailed discussion of the date, see Winternitz, *ibid.*, pp. 500-17.
93. But *contra* the figure of Sūrya riding a two-horsed chariot and holding two lotus-buds in his hands carved on a piece of metallic ornament worn by a lady on the front side of her hair. This piece has been ascribed to the first century AD. See L.P. Pande, *Sun Worship in Ancient India*. p. 77, Pl.6, fig. 2.
94. LVII.34.
95. V.S. Agrawala, *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in the Mathura Art*, pp.5-6, Nos. 956, 1729, 2007, 2052, 2487.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 10, No.512.
97. Varāhamihira mentions his own name in XLVI.2; LXXXV.4; CIII.64; *PS*, XVIII.61, 63, 65; *VP*, 97; *BJ*, XXVIII.9.

98. Cf. *TCSM*, II, Pt. I-A, p. 2609; IV, Pt. I, p. 4547, No. 3608; VI, Pt. I, p. 7207, No. 5241; H.D. Velankar, *Cat. of Skr. Mss. in Desai Collection of Bombay University Library*, No. 1463. For Varāhamihira's works being referred to as Vārāha, cf. *CSMGOML*, p. 9421, No.13976.
99. *TCSM*, IV, Pt. I. Skr.- A, p. 4357.
100. Cf. the beginning of the Daśādhyāyī comm. on *BJ*, where Varāhamihira is styled 'Ādityadās-ātmaja', *CSMGOML*, p. 9481, No. 14064.
101. आदित्यदासतनयस्तदवाप्तबोधः कापित्यके सवितुलब्धवरप्रसादः।
आवन्तिको मुनिमतान्यवलोक्य सम्यग्घोरां वराहमिहिरो रुचिरां चकार॥
BJ, XXVIII.9.
102. दिनकरवसिष्ठपूर्वान् विविधमुनीन्द्रान् प्रणम्य भक्त्यादौ।
जनकं गुरुं च शास्त्रे येनास्मिन् नः कृतो बोधः॥
PS, I.1.
103. Cf. the concluding verse of his commentary on *BS*, Ch. II, p. 82.
104. Cf. the introductory portions of his commentaries on *BS*, *BJ*, *YY* and *LJ*. Even Pṛthuyāśas, Varāhamihira's son, is styled by him as Āvantikācārya, cf. the beginning of his gloss on the *Ṣaṭpañcāsikā*.
105. *NSM*, VII, pp. 211-2, No. 2453.
106. *Ibid.*, IV, p. II, No. 1376.
107. *NSM*, VII, pp.211-12, No.2453.
108. *TCSM*, V, Pt. I, p. 6587, No. 4497; VI, Pt. I, p. 7196, No. 5133.
109. *Ibid.*, VI, Pt. I, p. 7196, No. 5233. Cf. also Nos. 2806, 3455.
110. The *Daivajña-vallabhā* attributed to Varāhamihira ends with almost the same verse as *BJ*, XXVIII. 9, cf. *NSM*, IV (1878), pp. 206-7, No.1633.
111. *Gaṇakatarāṅgiṇī*, p.11
- 111a.Cf. *El*, VII, p. 37.
112. *Vikrama-smṛtigrantha* (Hindi), pp. 263, 356.
113. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* I, p. 333.
114. For a detailed discussion on this question see our paper 'Fresh Light on Varāhamihira's Life' in G. H. Bhatt Memorial Number of *JOI*.
115. *BS*, Introduction, pp. I-2.
116. *Gaṇakatarāṅgiṇī*, pp. 12-16.
117. *IA*, XL. (1911), p. 19.
118. Risely, *Tribes and castes of Bengal*, I, pp. 159-60.
119. Cf. D. K. Biswas, "The Maga Ancestry of Varāhamihira", *IHQ*, XXV (1947), pp. 175-83.

120. *BJ*, XXVIII. 9. Utpala describes him as *arka-vara-lābha-vivṛddha-buddhi* and *arka-lābha-vara-prasāda*, cf. *BS*, pp. I-2.
121. It opens with an invocation to Kāma, the Indian god of love.
122. *BS*, LVII.46-52.
123. *Varāhamihira-horāśāstram*, Introduction, pp. XLVII-XLVIII.
124. *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. VII.
125. The fervour displayed in praising Viṣṇu in *BS*, Chs. 42 and 104, indicates, if anything, religious eclecticism or the then religious beliefs and practices.
126. *Literary Remains*, pp. 240-41.
127. *BS*, Introduction, pp. 15-6, 19.
128. *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 108-109.
129. "Varāhamihira and Buzurjmehr," *IHQ*, IX (1933), pp. 984-6.
130. Bhandarkar's *List*. No.67.
131. *Ibid.*, Nos. 9, 1323.
132. *Ibid.*, No. 1712.
133. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1195, 1196.
134. It occurs on the Nṛ-Varāha image of the Gupta period found at Eran, now in Sagar University Museum. I owe this information to Prof. K.D. Bajpai.
135. Bhandarkar's *List*, No.13.
136. For the collated text of this work, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Contribution towards the Reconstruction of the Samāsa-saṁhita of Varāhamihirā," *BV*, XXIII (1963), 22-39.
137. For a detailed analysis of the Upadhye's theory see our paper in the G.H. Bhatt Memorial Number of *JOI*.
138. See Appendix I of this work.
139. Venkateshwar Press, Śaka 1832, pp. 340-41, verses 99-125.
140. ब्राह्मण्यामभवद् वराहमिहिरो ज्योतिर्विदामग्रणीः
राजा भर्तृहरिश्च विक्रमनृपः क्षत्रात्मजायामभूत् ।
वैश्यायां हरिचन्द्रवैद्यतिलको जातश्च शङ्कुः कृती
शूद्रायाममरः षडेव शबरस्वामिद्विजस्यात्मजाः ॥
141. *ABORI*, VI (1925), p. 14.
142. Its probability is admitted by S. K. Dikshit, *IC*, VI, p. 210.
143. Cf. *TCSM*, V, Pt. I, p. 6587, No.4499; VI, Pt. I, p. 7196, Nos. 2806, 3455, 5233.
144. V. 218-219

145. Cf. T.L. Shah, *Ancient India*, II, p. 269, IV, pp. 234, 338-39.
146. Cf. H. Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, introduction, pp. 13-4.
147. *Life of Varāhamihira*, 2nd Ed., Bangalore, 1945.
148. I. 10; V. 18; XVII.1; XXIV.5; CVI.14; etc.; *PS*, XVIII.65; *BJ*, XXVIII.6.
149. For Bentley's view attributing all the five *Siddhāntas* to Varāhamihira, see *AR*, VI (1806), pp. 537 ff; VIII (1808), pp. 195 ff.
150. It was also known as *Varahahorasastra* or *Varāhamihirahorasastra*, cf. *CSMGOML*, p. 9481.
151. *NSM*, VII, pp. 211-12, No.2453.
152. *CSPMBBRAS*, I, p. 122, No.370.
153. *CSMGOMLM*, p.646.
154. *CSMGOMLM* (Suppl.), p. 16.
155. *CSMGOML*, p. 9481, No. 14064.
156. *TCSM*, III, Pt. I, p. 4026, No. 2806; V. Pt. I, p. 6587, No.4499; VI, Pt. I, p. 7196, No. 5133; p. 7207, No. 5241.
157. *TCSM*, II, Pt. I, Skr.-A, p. 1279, No. 970; *CMSML*, p. 7675, No. 11536.
158. *TCSM*, III, Pt. I. p. 3916, No.2741; IV, Pt. I-A, p.4428, No.3037.
159. Utpala on *BS*, p. 71, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Ms. No. 856 of 1884-1887, New No. 24, folio I.
160. Utpala on *YY*, I.i
161. *Author Index of Skr. Mss. in Govt. Oriental Mss. Library*, Madras, p. 81.
162. *CSPMBBRAS*, p.128, NO.388.
163. It has been recently edited by David Pingree in the *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, XX, 1972, pp.1-130. At places the readings are ambiguous. V.R. Pandit's edition, which is much more dependable and which we have consulted, is still to be published.
164. *JUB*, XX, Pt. II (September 1957), pp. 40-63.
165. B.O.R. I, Ms. No. 856 of 1884-1887, New No. 24, folio 1.
166. *CSPMBBRAS*, pp. 128-29, No. 389, *NSM*, I (1871), p. 28, No. XLVII. As noted in the preceding note, a manuscript of the text with Utpala's gloss is preserved in B.O.R. Institute also.
167. *JRAS*, 1870-75.
168. *CSMGOML*, Nos. 13585-13589; *NSM*, IX, pp. 329, 643; *Catalogue of Skr. and Prakrit Mss. in the Library of India Office*. II, Pt. 1, No. 6326, p. 785.

169. I have recently collected and edited these extracts in my paper; "Contribution towards the Reconstruction of the Samāsa-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira" *BV*, XXIII (1963), 22-39.
170. *A Classified Catalogue of Sanskrit Printed Works in the Govt. Oriental Library*, Mysore (1922), mentions the *Brhajjyotiṣa* or *Brāhmaṇoṭpatti-mārtaṇḍa* as another work of Varāhamihira (No. C188). I have not been able to consult it.
171. Hiralal, *Cat. of Skr. and Prakrit Mss. in C. P. and Berar*, Nos. 1687, 3884; Kielhorn, *A Classified Alphabetical Cat. of Skr. Mss. in the Central Provinces*, p. 236, No. 108.
172. *A Classified Cat. of Skr. Printed Works in Govt. Oriental Library*, Mysore 1922, p. 74, No. B. 478; *Cat. of Skr. Mss. in Private Libraries of South India*, Nos. 461, 3146, 3147.
173. *CSPMBBRAS*, I, p.81, No. 243.
174. *Catalogue of Skr. Mss. in Private Libraries of South India*, p. 206, No.2959.
175. It is strange to find that some Mss. of the *Ṣaṭpañcāśikā* are actually wrongly ascribed to Varāhamihira (V.W. Karambelkar, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in Nagpur University Library*, No. 2335; W. Taylor, *Cat. of Oriental Mss. in the College Fort, St. George*, p. 317) and described as a supplement to *Bj* (*ibid.*, p. 79, No.2075) or *BS* (R.L. Mitra, *Cat. of Skr. Mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 337), while others are attributed to Bhaṭṭotpala (Karambelkar, *Op.cit.*, Nos. 2336-2339, 2341) or Dāmodara Daivajña (*ibid.*, No.2340). It is also referred to as *Ṣaṭpañcaśatī* (W. Taylor, *op.cit.*, No.2075) which is a misnomer. It was also known as *Prāśna-mahodadhī* and ascribed to Prthuyāśas, wrongly described as Bhaṭṭotpala's son (*CSMGOML*, Nos. 13954, 13957, 13959). The *Samaravijayodaya* is another work attributed to Prthuyāśas (*CSMGOMLM*, p. 366).
176. All-India Oriental Conf., XXIst Session, *Summaries of Papers*, p.47.
The paper has since been published in *Vishweshwarananda Indological Journal*, I, pp.63-65.
177. P.K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Literary History*, III, p.37, fn. 1.
178. *Catalogues Catalogorum*, I, p. 660.
179. *HIA*, p. 272.
180. *Catalogue of Skr. and Prakrit Mss. in the Library of India Office*, II, Pt. 1, p. 843, No. 6439; H. D. Velankar, *Cat. of Desai Collection in the Bombay University Lib.*, Nos. 1468-1470.
181. *NSM*, IV (1878), pp. 206-7, No. 1633; *CSMM*, III, p. 168, Nos. 1423, 168.
182. *NSM*, I, p. 229; III, p. 81.
183. *TCSM*, II, pp. 1612-14, No. 1288.
184. *Cat. of Skr. Mss. in the Deccan College Library*, XIV (1881-82), foll. 38; *Cat. of Skr. and Prakrit Mss. in C.P. and Berar*, No.3161.

185. *Cat. of Skr. Mss. in Desai Collection of Bombay, Varsity Library*, No.1463.
186. *CSMGOML*, pp. 9420-21, No.13976; *Cat. of Skr. Mss. in Bombay University Library*, No.1483.
187. *NSM* (2nd Series), III, Pt. 1 (1904), p. 1, Sanskrit No. 1572, *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, p. 49b.
188. H.P. Sastri, *Cat. of Palm-leaf and Skr. Mss. in Nepal Durbar Library*.
189. Eggling's *Catalogue*, No. 3082.
190. *NSM* (2nd Series), IV (1911), pp.69-70.
191. Bühler, *Report on a Tour in Search of Skr. Mss. in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, Bombay*, 1877, No.545.
192. Sambasiva Sastri, *Cat. of Skr. Mss. in H. H. Maharaja Palace Library, Trivandrum*, III, pp. 1172-74.
193. *Cat. of Skr. Mss. at Jammu*, p. 176, Nos. 836, 1058, 1182, 2940, 2954.
194. Darbhanga, Ms. No. 229.
195. *Ibid.*, No. 107.
196. Hiralal, *Cat. of Skr. and Prakrit Mss. in C P. and Berar*, No. 1797.
197. *Ibid.*, Nos. 2167, 2168.
198. वक्रनवुक्रास्तमयोदयाद्यास्ताराग्रहाणां करणे मयोक्ताः॥
I. 10.
199. अवनत्यार्के ग्रासो दिग् ज्ञेया वलनयाऽवनत्या च।
तिथ्यवसानाद् वेला करणे कथितानि तानि मया॥
V.18.
200. युद्धं यथा यदा वा भविष्यमादिश्यते त्रिकालज्ञैः।
तद्विज्ञानं करणे मया कृतं सूर्यसिद्धान्तात्॥
XVII.1.
201. योगो यथानागत एव वाच्यः स धिष्ययोगः करणे मयोक्तः॥
XXIV.5.
202. यात्रायां यदभिहितं ग्रहयज्ञविधौ महेन्द्रकेतौ च।
वेदीपुरोहितानललक्षणमस्मिस्तदवधार्यम्॥
XLIII.14.
203. त्रस्यन् नेष्टो राज्ञः परिशेषं चेष्टितं द्विपहयानाम्।
यात्रायां व्याख्यातं तदिह विचिन्त्यं यथायुक्तिः॥
XLIII.18.
204. सदसत्स्वप्ननिमित्तं यात्रायां स्वप्नविधिरुक्तः॥
XLVII.22.
205. ग्रहयज्ञे यः प्रोक्तो विधिर्ग्रहाणां स कर्तव्यः॥
XLVII.29.

- Cf. Utpala : ग्रहाणामादित्यादीनां यात्रायां ग्रहयज्ञे योऽयं विधिः प्रोक्तः कथितः स एवात्र विधिः कर्तव्यः।
206. यात्राविधाने हि शुभाशुभं यत्
प्रोक्तं निमित्तं तदिहापि वाच्यम्।
L.7.
207. V. R. Pandit's unpublished edition. These verses are not included in J. L. Shastri's edition.
208. एवं प्रोक्तं यन्मया जन्मकाले चिह्नं रूपं तत्तदस्मिन् विचिन्त्यम्॥
Cf. Utpala— जन्मकाले जातकसमये।
209. अत्रैवान्तर्भूतं परिशेषं निगदितं च यात्रायाम्।
ब्रह्माश्चर्यं जातकमुक्तं करणं च बहुचोद्यम्॥
CVI.14.
210. होरागतं विस्तरशश्च जन्म यात्राविवाहैः सह पूर्वमुक्तम्॥
Cf. Utpala—एतदुक्तं भवति बृहज्जातकं बृहद्यात्रा बृहद्विवाहपटलं मयाऽदाव विरचितमिति।
211. वर्षे यद् यस्य फलं मासे च मुनिप्रणीतमालोक्य।
तत्तद्वृत्तैर्वक्ष्ये होरातन्त्रोत्तरविधाने॥
PS, I.22.
- The reference is to Ch. XIX of BS. The phrase *horātantr-ottaravidhāne* is usually taken to refer to the *Brhajjātaka*, which is incorrect. It should be taken to mean the work composed after the *Horā* (BJ) and *Tantra* (PS), the irregularity of the chronological order being due to metrical considerations.
212. NSM, VII. pp. 211-12, No.2453.
213. The reference is to Ch. 24 of BJ.
214. तदयमपि वराहमिहिरो ज्योतिःशास्त्रसंग्रहकृद् गणितस्कन्धानन्तरं जातकमुक्तवान्, तदनन्तरं प्रयाण-
पूर्विकां....यक्ष्येश्वमेधीयां यात्रां विधाय तामपरिपूर्णां मन्यमानोऽपरां योगयात्रां चिकीर्षु...
B.O.R. Institute Ms. No. 856 of 1884-1887, New No. 24, folio I.
215. Fol. 1a, II.4-7, quoted by V.R. Pandit, p. 173.
216. होराशास्त्रं वृत्तैर्मया निबद्धं निरीक्ष्य शास्त्राणि।
यत् तस्याप्यार्याभिः सारमहं सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि॥
LJ, I.1.
217. Cf. *supra*, p.20.
218. Caṇḍeśvara, *Ratna-dīpikā*, I.3.
219. Kern, BS, introduction, pp. 28-29.
220. For a list of metres used by Varāhamihira, cf. ZDMG, XLIV, pp. 4-15; JBBRAS, XXIV-XXV, 63-4.
221. Cf. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 532-3.
222. M.T. Patwardhan, "Sāra and Varāhamihira", ABORI, XV, p.249.

2

Historical Geography

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I

INTRODUCTORY

An accurate geographical knowledge is one of the most essential prerequisites of all historical studies. History and geography of a country go hand in hand. In the case of India, however, many ancient place-names frequently referred to in historical records have become obsolete and are substituted by modern ones which afford little, if any, clue to locate them correctly. The importance of a text, particularly a datable one, dealing with ancient Indian geography can, therefore, be hardly overstressed. It is from this point of view that Ch.14 of the *Bramatsamhiti* work, locating various peoples, countries and places in different directions, along with a number of topographical references scattered throughout the text, possesses a unique value.¹ Lists of peoples and countries are no doubt contained in the Purāṇas, but they lose much of their value, firstly, because these works cannot be even approximately dated and secondly, because they have been frequently handled by copyists and scribes in subsequent ages resulting in textual corruption. Being considerably free from these defects,² our work enjoys a certain precedence over these lists.

It must be pointed out at the very outset that Utpala's gloss on Ch.14 of the *Bṛahtsamhitā* is not at all enlightening and he often confines himself to mere paraphrasing. It is not, however, beyond the bounds of possibility that the commentary has not come down to us in its original form and the possibility of certain omissions here and there cannot be altogether ruled out. It finds some support from the fact that the following statement, which Alberuni (I.298) attributes to Utpala, cannot be traced in the extant text of the commentary: "The names of countries change, and particularly in the *yugas*. So Multan was originally called Kāśyapapura, then Hamsapura, then Bāgapura, then Śāmbapura, and then, i.e., *the original place*, for *mūla* means root, origin, and *Tāna* (*sthāna*) means place."³

Bhāratavarṣa

Varāhamihira deals with the topography of what he calls Bhāratavarṣa (XIV.I). Alberuni (I.197-8) says that Varāhamihira understood by Bhāratavarṣa India alone. It is evidenced by the fact that he refers to the rulers of Pañcāla, Magadha, Kaliṅga, Avanti, Ānarta, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Hārahaura, Madra and Kuṇinda as representing Madhyadeśa, the eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern divisions respectively (XIV.32-3). All these regions evidently belonged to India proper. But Varāhamihira, it is interesting to note, mentions Suvarṇabhū (XIV.31), generally identified with Burma, Malaysia and eastern Archipelago, and Simhala (XIV.15) or Ceylon as parts of Bhāratavarṣa in the north-east and south respectively. And this brings us to the wider sense in which the name Bhāratavarṣa was sometimes used. According to the Purāṇic cosmography, Bhāratavarṣa, one of the nine *varṣas* of Jambudvīpa, is divided into nine divisions (*khaṇḍas* or *bhedas*) which are said to be separated from each other by seas and mutually inaccessible, viz., Indradvīpa, Kaserumān, Tāmraparṇa, Gabhastimān, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gandharva, Varuṇa, and the 9th *dvīpa*, which is described as surrounded by oceans, 1000 *yojanas* in extent from north to south and as inhabited by the Kirātas and Yavanas in the east and west respectively, is left unnamed in some of the Purāṇas, while it is called Kumāra in the *Vāmanapurāṇa* (XIII.2, 11, 59). Rājaśekhara also in Ch.17 of his *Kāvyamīmamsā* names the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa and calls the ninth one as Kumāridvīpa wherein are said to be situated the seven *Kulaparvatas*,⁴ viz., the Vindhya, Pāriyātra, Śuktimān, Rkṣa, Mahendra, Sahya and Malaya.⁵ Tāmraparṇa of these lists corresponds to our Simhala. It goes without saying that these cannot be nine divisions of India proper, 'for India is not traversed by an ocean separating one *khaṇḍa* from the other'.⁶ It is the 9th division that corresponds to India proper. Thus while Varāhamihira employs the name Bhāratavarṣa mainly for India proper,⁷ the inclusion of Burma

and Ceylon which really formed parts of Greater India shows his acquaintance with the wider Purānic concept of Bhāratavarṣa.

The origin of the name Bhāratavarṣa is differently accounted for in different works. Thus while some of the Purāṇas derive it from king Bharata, the son of Ṛṣabha, a descendant of Svāyambhuva Manu,⁸ others assert that in consequence of maintaining his subjects Manu was himself styled Bharata and that after him the country came to be called Bhāratavarṣa.⁹ The Jaina work *Jambudīva-panṇiti* derives it from king Bharata whose sovereignty was established over the country.¹⁰ H.C. Raychaudhuri suggests to derive it from the celebrated Bharata people who played an important role in the political life of India in the Vedic and Epic times.¹¹ According to some of the Purāṇas, the country was originally called Himāhva¹² or Haimavatavarṣa,¹³ a name evidently derived from the Himalayas.

Kūrma-vibhāga

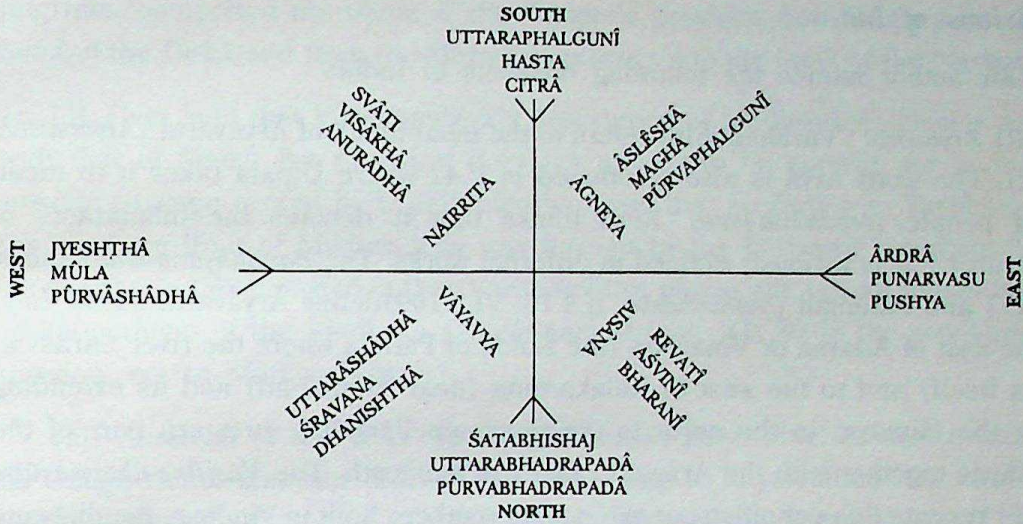
Ch.14 of our work which treats of the topography of India is styled *Kūrma-vibhāga*¹⁴ or *Nakṣatra-kūrmādhya*.¹⁵ The significance of the word *kūrma*, which originally denoted the back of a tortoise, is not quite clear. The word *kūrma-vibhāga* is probably due to the belief that the shape of the globe corresponds to that of a tortoise lying outspread, with its face towards the east. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (LVIII.73-74) speaks of this tortoise as being identical with the god Nārāyaṇa. It may, therefore, be rendered as 'the division of the globe'.¹⁶

Varāhamihira divides India into nine parts, viz., Madhyadeśa or the Central Region and four major and four minor directions from east to north-east and assigns them to the nine triads of constellations commencing with Kṛttikā¹⁷ as shown in the chart.¹⁸

This division is aimed at determining what countries and peoples will suffer disaster when their particular constellations are occulted by malefic planets.¹⁹ The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (LVIII.80-81) enjoins that when planets and constellations of a country are occulted its inhabitants should bathe and give alms and perform the *homa* oblation and the rest of the ritual.

Copious extracts from the *Parāśara-tantra* quoted by Utpala indicate that Parāśara followed an identical system of dividing India into nine parts and assigning them to *nakṣatra*-triads. Garga appears to have done the same.²⁰ A similar composition is to be found in the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa* (56).

The misconception that the shape of *Bhāratavarṣa* was like that of a tortoise lying outspread facing east has naturally resulted in the misplacement of some of the rivers, mountains, *janapadas* and localities in wrong directions, which could



have been easily avoided by following some other classification. Some such classifications are outlined hereafter. Barring these avoidable errors, it cannot be gainsaid that the geographical references contained in the *BS* and some other works of Varāhamihira are of inestimable value to a student of the historical geography of ancient India.

The occurrence of references to Kāmarūpa (in *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa*), Vardhamāna and Mahārāṣṭra (in *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*),²¹ 'which are unknown to literature and inscriptions of an earlier epoch', has led H.C. Raychaudhuri to believe that '*kurmaṇvibhāga* cannot in all probability be assigned to a period earlier than the fourth century AD'.²² The untenability of this suggestion is amply demonstrated by the fact that even Garga, whose *Samhitā* cannot be assigned to a date later than the middle of the first century BC, divided India into nine parts and assigned them to *nakṣatra*-triads.²³

It would not be quite out of place here to refer to some other classifications followed by ancient Indian writers on geography. Most of the *Purāṇas* divide India into seven broad divisions, viz., Madhyadeśa, Udīcya (North), Prācya (East), Dakṣiṇāpatha (South), Aparānta (Western Coast), Vindhyaśinaḥ (those dwelling in the Vindhya region), and Parvatāśrayiṇaḥ (people dwelling on the Himalayas).²⁴ Early Pali texts name the same divisions with the exception of the Vindhyan people.²⁵ In the writings of the Chinese pilgrims we come across Five Divisions of India or the 'Five Indias', namely, North, West, Central, East and South.²⁶ Rājaśekhara also divides his Kumāridvīpa (India) into five divisions, viz., Pūrvadeśa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Paścāddeśa, Uttarāpatha and Madhyadeśa.²⁷ At the root of this system lies the division into five great regions already met with in the *Atharvaveda* (XIX.17.1-9) and the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (VIII.14).²⁸

Divisions of India

Our author names the following divisions of India:-

(i) *Āryāvarta* : Varāhamihira refers to the inhabitants of Āryāvarta (*Āryāvartāḥ*, V.62). The word Ārya is also mentioned in V.42 where Utpala takes it to mean chief people (*pradhāna-jana*). Kern thinks that it denotes the inhabitants of Āryāvarta.²⁹ It is variously defined in different works. The *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* (I.i.27) and Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya*, II.4.10; VI.3.109) define Āryāvarta as the land to the east of Ādarśa or Vinaśana (the sands of Patiala where the river Sarasvatī loses itself) and to the west of Kālaka-vana (near Allahabad) and as extending from the Himavat in the north to the mountain Pāriyātra (western part of the Vindhya together with the Aravalli range) in the south. The *Vaṣiṣṭha-dharmasūtra* (I.8-9) repeats this definition but extends its southern limit to Vindhya. Baudhāyana (I.i.28) and Vasiṣṭha (I.12) quote an unnamed authority identifying it with the Gaṅga-Yamunā-Doab. Manu (II.22) takes it to denote the whole of Northern India lying between the Himavat and Vindhya and extending as far as the eastern and western seas.³⁰ It would thus appear that with the spread of Āryan culture towards the south and east the limits of Āryāvarta in these directions were also extended. In consequence it became a customary name for Northern India. It is used in this sense in Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscr. where it is contrasted with Dakṣiṇapatha or South India.³¹ Rājaśekhara in his *Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa* (Act VI) speaks of the river Narmadā as the dividing line between Āryāvarta and Dakṣiṇapatha.

(ii) *Madhyadeśa*.³² (Manu (II.21) makes it conterminous with the Āryāvarta of Vasiṣṭha when he says the Madhyadeśa denotes the region lying between the Himavat and Vindhya mountains and to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vinaśana. The Buddhist literature extends the eastern boundary of Madhyadeśa so as to include within its limits Magadha and Aṅga. Thus according to the *Mahāvagga* (V.13.12) it is bounded on the east by Kajaṅgala (somewhere in Rajamahāla district), in the south-east by the river Salavatī (Śarāvātī), in the south by the town of Setakaṇṇika, in the west by the Brāhmaṇa village of Thūna (probably modern Thaneswar) and in the north by the Uśīradhvaja mountain (Uśīragiri, a mountain to the north of Kankhal, Hardwar). The *Divyāvadāna* includes even Puṇḍravardhana within its limits.³³ Aśvaghōṣa speaks of Madhyadeśa as situated between the mountains Himavat and Pāriyātra (*Madhyadeśa iva vyakto Himavat-Pāriyātrayāḥ*, *Saundarananda*, II.62). The Central India of the Chinese

pilgrims 'comprised the whole of the Gangetic province from Thaneswar to the head of the Delta and from the Himalaya mountain to the bank of the Narbada.'³⁴

J.F. Fleet held that Varāhamihira's description of Madhyadeśa closely agrees with that of Manu. But this view does not appear to be correct, for a *Samāsa-samhitā* passage quoted by Utpala clearly shows that according to Varāhamihira the southern limit of Madhyadeśa was formed by the Pāriyātra mountain.³⁵ It is noteworthy in this connection that Varāhamihira places the people inhabiting the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas (*Vindhy-ānta-vāsinah*, XIV.9) in the south-eastern division, not in Madhyadeśa.³⁶

(iii) *Antarvedī* (V.65): It is the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab which is also mentioned as Gaṅgā-Yamun-antarāla (LXVIII.26). According to Rājaśekhara, the stretch of territory between the place of the disappearance of the Sarasvatī and Prayāga and the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā was called Antarvedī.³⁷ The Indor copper plate inscr. of the time of Skandagupta refers to Indrapura (the village of Indor in Bulandshahar district, U.P.) as situated in Antarvedī.³⁸

(iv) *Dakṣiṇāpatha* (IX.40; XLVI.8): It is Dachinabades of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (50-51)³⁹ and denotes the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmādā, particularly Deccan. According to Rājaśekhara, Dakṣiṇāpatha lay to the south of the town of Māhiṣamatī usually identified with Onkar-Mandhata in the Nimad district of Madhya Pradesh or with Maheshwar in the former Indore state (*Māhiṣmatyāḥ parato Dakṣiṇāpathaḥ, Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*). It will, however, appear from the definitions of Āryāvarta and Madhyadeśa given above that Dakṣiṇāpatha lay to the south of the Vindhyas. The Sātavāhanas are described as the lords of Dakṣiṇāpatha.⁴⁰ In the Allahabad Pillar Inscr. of Samudragupta, Dakṣiṇāpatha is used as a name of South India as opposed to the North called Āryāvarta.⁴¹

(v) *Uttarāpatha* (IX.41): Though in a narrower sense it denotes north-western portion of India, it is often used as a customary designation for North India as a whole. Rājaśekhara tells us that it lay beyond Pṛthūdaka⁴² (Pehoa, Karnal district, Punjab). In the Hathigumpha Inscr. of Khāravela, it is distinguished from Magadha.⁴³ Bāṇa seems to exclude Sthāṇvisvara (Thaneswar) from Uttarāpatha.⁴⁴ In some early Cālukya records Harṣavardhana is styled as 'the lord of the whole of Uttarāpatha.'⁴⁵ Originally Uttarāpatha, as indicated by its name, was a great trade-route which gave its name to the country through which it passed.⁴⁶

(vi) *Aparānta*: Varāhamihira locates Aparāntaka in the Western division (XIV.20) and refers to its inhabitants (*Aparāntakān*, V.70⁴⁷; *Aparāntya*, IX.15). Literally meaning 'the western end', Aparānta seems to signify the whole of the western sea-board of India. In a limited sense, it denotes the northern Konkan.⁴⁸ In Rock Edict V of Aśoka, it seems to be used for Western India where the Raṭhikas, Pitinikas, etc. lived. Kālidāsa locates it between the Sahya mountain (northern part of the Western Ghats) and the ocean (*Raghuvamśa*, IV.53). It is the same as Rājaśekhara's Paścāddeśa which lay to the west of Devasabhā.⁴⁹ Ptolemy⁵⁰ and the *Periplus* (41) refer to it by the name Ariake.⁵¹

Besides, Varāhamihira refers to the Eastern division as Prācyā (V.69; LXXXV.75).

We may close this section with a brief reference to the difficulties which present themselves in the treatment of our data. Firstly, Varāhamihara's geography is of a conventional character and should not therefore be expected to furnish materials which might enable us to frame an accurate map of India in his own time. A comparison of the extracts from the *Parāśara-tantra* as quoted by Utpala with the corresponding verses of Ch.XIV of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* leaves little doubt that the latter really represent the geography of the *Parāśara-tantra* or perhaps still more ancient works.⁵² Secondly, there are certain discrepancies regarding the location of places and countries. Thus while in his detailed enumeration of the countries he assigns Sindhu-Sauvīra to the South-western division (XIV.17); elsewhere it is located in the west (XIV.33). This discrepancy, as pointed out by Cunningham,⁵³ is at least as old as the eleventh century AD for Alberuni (I.298) enumerates the countries in the same order as the extant text of the *Bṛhatsamhitā*. Similarly, Avanti and Hārahaura are not mentioned among the countries of the south and north-west respectively, but elsewhere they are mentioned as representing these very divisions (XIV.33). So also he places Kaccha and Girinagara in the southern division XIV.11, 16), but locates Raivataka in the south-west (XIV, 19), while the latter is quite close to Girinagara (modern Junagadh) and to the south of Kaccha (Cutch).⁵⁴ Thirdly, peoples' bearing the same names are sometimes placed in more than one division. The Bhadrās, for instance, are located variously in Madhyadeśa (XIV.2), east (XIV.7) and south (XIV.16), and the Ambaṣṭhas are placed in the eastern as well as south-western divisions (XIV.7, 17). Lastly, some of the peoples' and places mentioned appear to be fabulous. Thus, people with the face like that of a horse (*Aśvamukha* XVI.34;

Aśvavadana XIV.6; *Turagānana* XIV.25), a dog (*Śvamukha* XIV.25), or a tiger (*Vyāghramukha* XIV.5), with one foot (*Ekapāda* XIV.7; *Ekacaraṇa* XIV.31), one or three eyes (*Ekavilocana* XIV.23; *Trinetra*, *ibid.*) and the neck resembling that of a serpent (*Vyālagrīva* XIV.9), and people living or roaming in the sky (*Khastha* XIV.22; *Khacara* XIV.28; *Diviṣṭha* XIV.31) do not appear to be creatures of our earth. However, they might have some totemic significance which cannot be determined for want of relevant data.

It would have indeed been desirable to present our data direction-wise, but as references of a geographical nature are found in astrological contexts throughout the *Brhatsamhitā* and other works of Varāhamihira, it is found more practicable to arrange our topographical list lexiconically under different heads like physical features, peoples and countries, and cities and towns.

II

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Mountains

1. *Añjana* (XIV.5). Varāhamihira places it in the eastern division. In the Jātakas, it is mentioned as a mountain in the great forest.⁵⁵ It is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa, 37.5) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (LVIII.11). As it is placed in the eastern division, it must be distinguished from the Sulaiman range in the Punjab separating it and N.W.F.P. from Baluchistan, which was also known by this name. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Jātakas refer to a forest of this name situated near Sāketa.⁵⁶

2. *Arbuda* (V.68; XVI.31; XXXII.19), Mt. Abu in the Arāvali range in Rajasthan.

3. *Astagiri* (XIV.20), in the west, is the mythical 'mountain of sun-set.'⁵⁷

4. *Citrakūta* (XVI.16), in the southern division (XIV.13), is situated in the district of Banda, 65 miles west-south-west of Allahabad, and about 4 miles from the Chitrakut station. It is also known as Kamptanathagiri.⁵⁸

5. *Dardura* (XIV.11), in the southern division, is identified with the Nilgiris or Palani Hills.⁵⁹ Kālidāsa speaks of Dardura and Malaya as the two breasts of the southern quarter (*Stanāv=iva diśas=tasyāḥ śailau Malaya-Dardurau, Raghu*, IV.51). Like Malaya, it was celebrated for the sandal wood (*Mahābhārata*, II.52.34; *Raghu*, IV.51).

6. *Dhanuṣmān* (XIV.24), a hill in the northern division. Alberuni (I.302) takes it to mean 'the people with bows,' which is incorrect.

7. *Gomanta*. Varāhamihira refers to the inhabitants of the Gomanta mountain (V.68; IX.13;⁶⁰ XVI.16). In two out of the three places, Utpala takes it to mean 'persons possessing cows' (V.68; IX.13), while in the third case he says that Gomanta may denote either people owning cows or a mountain (*Gomantaḥ gomināḥ parvato vā*, XVI.16). But the first meaning proposed by Utpala goes against the rules of grammar, according to which *gomantaḥ* and *gomataḥ* should be the nominative and accusative plural forms of the word *gomat*. But Varāhamihira, it must be noted, employs the form *gomanta* even in compounds (V.68; XVI.16) and *gomantān* in accusative plural (IX.13), which clearly shows that the word intended is *gomanta* and not *gomat*. Thus the word should invariably be taken as the name of a hill only. Gonanda is a variant reading given by Utpala on V.68. Pargiter⁶¹ identifies it with the hill of Gwalior, which, according to Cunningham, was originally called Gopācala, Gopagiri and Gopāhvaya, and later Gomanta.⁶² But as according to the *Harivamśa* (Viṣṇuparva, 39, 62-64) it lay to the south of the town of Vanavāsī, it is more reasonable to place it in the Mysore region as suggested by Raychaudhuri.⁶³ And Chandragutti in the Shimaga district of the Mysore State was actually known as Gomanta-parvata.⁶⁴ It is, thus, a part of the Sahya range. Dey thinks that it was situated in the country about Goa.⁶⁵

8. *Hemagiri* (XIV.19), a mountain in the south-western division, probably Kanakagiri near Mysore.

9. *Himavat* (XVI.16), in the northern division (XIV.24), is the famous Himalayan range forming the natural boundary of India in the north. Varāhamihira refers to the *camara* deer (LXXI.1), diamond mines (LXXIX.7) and pearl-fisheries of the Himalayas (LXXX.2, 5). He speaks of the Himavat and the Vindhya mountains as the breasts of the earth (*Himavad = Vindhya-payodharā dharā*, XLII.35; YY, VIII.17). He refers to the people of Antargiri (*Antargirijān*, V.42) about which Kern remarks, 'I am not able to say which part of the Himalayan hill-country was called Antargiri; it may be Kumaon, or a still more eastern district.'⁶⁶ V.S. Agrawala identifies it with Pali Mahāhimavant or the great central Himalaya, which includes its loftiest peaks.⁶⁷ We have also a reference to the 'people beyond and within the mountains' (*bahir=antaḥśailajāḥ*, XVI.2). *Antaḥśaila* is the same as Antargiri; *Bahiḥśaila* is evidently identical with Bahirgiri of the

Mahābhārata (II.27.3) and Upagiri of Pāṇini (V.4.112), viz., the outlying region of the Tarai. It is the Imaos of the classical writers. Kālidāsa describes it as situated in the north and reaching the eastern and western ocean (*Kumārasambhava*, I.1). The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* speaks of it as stretching along the north of Bhāratavarṣa like the string of a bow (*Himavān uttareṇ-āsya karmukasya yathā guṇāḥ*, LVII.59). Ptolemy refers to the Koa (Kabul), Souastos (Swat), Indus, Ganga and other rivers as rising in the Mount Imaos. These statements indicate, as suggested by Pargiter, that originally the name Himavat had a wider denotation so as to include the Sulaiman range. It was considered to be an ideal of strength, and the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is described as equal to the Himavat, Meru and Mandara mountains in strength.⁶⁸

10. *Kailāśa* (XVI.24), a mountain in the northern division. According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (CXXI.2), it lies at the back of Himavat (*Himavataḥ pr̥sthe*). According to some, it is a spur of the Gangri range; it is the Congrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles north of Mānasa-sarovara beyond the Gangri which is also called Darchin, and to the east of the 'Niti Pass'.⁶⁹ It forms the water-shed giving rise to the Indus, Sutlej and Brahmaputra. The Mandasor Inscr. of Kumarāgupta and Bandhuvarman describes Kailāśa and Sumeru as the breasts of the earth.⁷⁰

11. *Kiṣkindhā* (XIV.10), a hill as well as the country round it in the south-eastern division. It comprises the hills of Kupal, Mudgal and Raichur. There still exists a small hamlet in the Dharwad district on the south bank of the Tuṅgabhadra near Ānegundi, three miles from Vijayanagara, which is called Kiṣkindhā as well as Anegundi.⁷¹

12. *Krauñca* (XIV.24), a mountain in the northern division, has been identified with that part of the Kailāśa mountain on which Mānasa-sarovara is situated.⁷²

13. *Kṣurārpaṇa* (XIV.20), a mountain in the western division.

14. *Kusumanaga* (XIV.14) in the southern division.

15. *Mahendra* (XIV.11; XVI.10) is located in the southern division. According to Pargiter, Mahendra comprises "the chain of hills that extends from Orissa and the northern Circars to Gondawana, part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahindra Malei or hills of Mahindra", or "the portion of Eastern Ghats between the Godāvarī and the Mahānadī, and the hills in the south of Berar."⁷³ But as

pointed out by Ray chaudhuri, this restriction of Mahendra to the north of the Godāvārī is not always observed by Sanskrit writers and it actually 'embraced the entire chain of hills extending from Ganjam to Tinnevely'.⁷⁴ Kālidāsa especially associates it with Kalinga (*Raghu*, VI.54).⁷⁵

16. *Malaya* (XVI.10),⁷⁶ in the southern division (XIV.11), signifies the southern portion of the Western Ghats from the Nilgiris to Cape Comorin.⁷⁷ It is Ptolemy's Bettigo⁷⁸, a name derived from Tamil Podigei or Podigai. It was famous for its sandal which was also called *malaya* or *malayaja*. In the *Mahābhārata* (Droṇa, 23.70-72), it is closely associated with the Pāṇḍyas; a Pāṇḍya ruler is styled *Malaya-dhvaja*.⁷⁹

17. *Mālindya* (XIV.11), in the southern division.

18. *Mālyavān* (XIV.5), in the eastern division. Partgiter⁸⁰ identifies it with the curved line of hills close to Kupal, Mudgal and Raichur. Dey⁸¹ thinks it is the name of the Karakorum mountain between the Nīla and Niṣadha mountains. But none of these appears to be identical with Varāhamihira's Mālyavat which is placed in the eastern division.

19. *Maṇimān* (XIV.20), in the western division.

20. *Meghavān* (XIV.20), a mountain in the western division.

21. *Mekala* (V.39, 73; XVI.2), a mountain and the people inhabiting it in the eastern division (XIV.7). It is usually identified with the Maikal range in the Gondwana in Madhya Pradesh including the Āmarakantak which is the source of the Narmadā. Varāhamihira places it too much in the east.

22. *Meru* (XIV.24), in the northern division. It is the name of both a fabulous mountain, the habitation of gods, supposed to be situated in the centre of Jambūdvīpa, and a portion of the Himalayas. This last seems to be the mountain in question. Sir Monier-Williams⁸² thinks that it denotes the highland of Tartary, north of the Himalayas. B.C.Law⁸³ identifies it with the Rudra Himalaya in Garhwal where the Ganga rises and regards it as identical with the Mount Meros of Arrian. According to some, Meru denotes the Pamir range in Central Asia.

23. *Muñjādri* (XIV.31), in the north-eastern division. Alberuni (I.303) gives the name as Puñjādri.

24. *Padma* (XIV.5), in the eastern division. It is evidently distinct from Sravana Belgola in Karnataka which S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar identifies with Padmagiri.⁸⁴

25. *Pāriyātra* (v.l. *Pāripātra*, V.68; LXVIII.11) is placed in the Middle Country (XIV.4). *Varāhamihira* refers to the inhabitants of *Pāriyātra* (*Pāriyātrastha*, VI.10; *Pāriyātrika*, X.15). It has been identified with the western portion of the Vindhya range west of Bhopal including Aravalli mountains in Rajasthan.⁸⁵ The name *Pāriyātra* still survives in the Pathar range lying between the rivers Chambal and Banas.⁸⁶ The earliest inscriptional reference to it occurs in the Nasik cave inscr. of *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi*,⁸⁷ where it is called *Pāricāta*. As stated above, according to *Varāhamihira* it was the southern limit of *Madhyadeśa*.

26. *Phenagiri* (XIV.18), in the south-western division. *Monier-Williams* places it near the mouth of the Indus.⁸⁸

27. *Praśastādri* (XIV.20), a hill in the western division.

28. *Raivataka* (XVI.31), a mountain in the south-western division (XIV.19), is the hill opposite Mt. Girnar. Sometimes it is identified with the Girnar mountain itself which is believed to be the birthplace of *Neminātha* and regarded as one of the five great *tīrthas* of the Jains. In the Junagadh inscr. of *Skandagupta*, it is said to be the source of the river *Palāśinī*.⁸⁹

29. *Risyamūka* (XIV.13), in the southern division. According to *Fleet*, it is a hill on the north of *Hampe*.⁹⁰ *Pargiter* identifies it with the range of hills from *Ahmadnagar* to beyond *Naldrug* and *Kalyani* dividing the rivers *Mañjirā* and *Bhīmā*.⁹¹

30. *Sahyagiri* (LXVIII.30). In the *Purāṇas*, it is described as the source of the *Godāvarī*, *Vaṅjulā* or *Mañjirā*, *Kṛṣṇā*, *Bhīmā*, *Tuṅgabhadra*, *Suprayogā* (perhaps in *Nellore*) and *Kāverī*. It has, therefore, been identified with the northern portion of the Western Ghats extending from the river *Tāptī* down to the *Nilgiris*.⁹² *Ptolemy* divides it into (1) the northern part called *Oroudian* (Skt. *Vaidūrya*), the source of the great rivers of the eastern or *Maesolian* coast, and (2) the southern part called *Adeisathron*, the source of *Khabaris*, i.e. *Kāverī*.⁹³ *Kālidāsa* describes it as the hips of the earth (*Raghu*, IV.52), while in the *Alina* copper plate inscr. of the *Maitraka* ruler *Śīlāditya VII* it is spoken of as one of the breasts of the earth, the other being the *Vindhya* mountain.⁹⁴

31. *Śibiragiri* (XIV.6), in the eastern division.

32. *Śrīparvata* (XVI.3). The identification of *Śrīparvata* with the Nallamalais of the Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh, extending all along the Krishna in a westerly direction, is settled beyond doubt by a Nagarjunakonda inscr. which states that the lady Bodhisiri built a monastery and an apsidal temple on the Lesser Dhammagiri on *Śrīparvata*.⁹⁵ It is sometimes identified with the Siriṭana of the Nasik cave inscr. of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.⁹⁶

33. *Śūrpādri* (XIV.14), in the southern division.

34. *Udayagiri* (XIV.7), which is placed in the eastern division, may be either the mythical mountain of sunrise or the famous Udayagiri hill, 5 miles east of Bhuvaneshwar in Orissa. The latter is a spur of the Asia range and contains some Buddhist and Jaina monuments of an early date.

35. *Vasumān* (XIV.24), a mountain in the northern division.

36. *Vindhya*. The name is at present loosely applied in a very wide sense to denote the entire mountain range along the Narmadā separating north India from the Deccan. It includes all the hill ranges anciently known as *Vindhya* and *Ṛkṣavat* both of which were treated as *kula-parvatas*. But when they are distinguished, the only point of agreement is that the Narmadā formed the dividing line between them. However, there is a wide difference of opinion among Indologists on the designation of the mountains to the north and south of this river owing to confusion in ancient traditions, especially the Bhuvana-kośa sections of the Purāṇas. Some scholars are inclined to hold that *Ṛkṣavat* denoted, when employed in a narrow sense, the mountain range to the north of the Narmadā and *Vindhya* that to its south.⁹⁷ But the actual fact seems to be otherwise. *Vindhya* denoted the mountain range to the north of the Narmadā and *Ṛkṣavat* to its south. Even now *Vindhya* is applied to the mountain to the north of this river, and there is clear evidence that the name *Ṛkṣavat* was used to denote what is now called Satpuda, which is a distant derivative of *Ṛkṣavat*. It is used in the Prakrit form *Chavata* for the Satpuda range in the Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of the Sātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.⁹⁸ Varāhamihira refers to the *Vindhya* forest (XVI.3), the countries in the neighbourhood of the *Vindhya* mountain (*Vindhy-ādri-pārśvagā deśāh*, XVI.12) and people living there (XVI.1), and places the people living in the neighbourhood of the *Vindhyas* (*Vindhy-ānta-vāsinah*, XIV.9) in the south-eastern division. He speaks of the *Vindhya* mountain as one of the breasts of the earth (XLII.35; YY, VIII.17), the other being the Himavat. The Alina copper-

plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII describes the Vindhya and Sahya ranges as the two breasts of the earth.⁹⁹ In another inscription Vindhya alone is spoken of as forming both the breasts.¹⁰⁰ Varāhamihira refers to the myth that Vindyha, bent upon obstructing the path of the sun's chariot by its moving peaks, was stemmed by the sage Agastya. He describes it as a resort of the Vidyādharas, as possessing streams inside its caves, and as embraced in secret by the river Revā as if it were a lady overtaken by passion (*Rahasi madanasaktayā Revayā kāntay-evopagūḍham*, XII.6). Brāhmaṇas subsisting on water, roots and air are said to inhabit it.

Rivers

1. *Bhīmarathā* (v.l. Bhīmarathyā, XVI.9). Varāhamihira refers to the inhabitants of the western half of the district of the Bhīmarathā (*Bhīmarathāyāś=ca paścim=ārddhasthāḥ*). It is modern Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kriṣṇā. It is called Bhaimarathi in some Cālukya records.¹⁰¹

2. *Candrabhāgā* (XVI.26), modern Chenab, the largest of the five streams of the Panjab. It is the Acesines of the classical writers and the Sandabala or Sandabaga of Ptolemy.¹⁰²

3. *Cārudevī* (IX.18). Varāhamihira refers to the inhabitants of the region about the river *Cārudevī*. Fleet¹⁰³ takes it to be a town or country, but Utpala clearly states that it is a river (*Cārudevī nadī tat=tatā-vāsinah*). It is not identified so far.

4. *Devikā* (XI.35). It is mentioned as a river in the north (*udag=āpi ca Devikām*). Pargiter has identified it with the Deeg, an affluent of the Ravi on its right bank.¹⁰⁴ According to the *Agni-purāṇa*, it flowed through the Sauvīra country (region round Multan), while the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (I.67.15) speaks of it as flowing through the Madra country. It is mentioned by Pāṇini, and Patañjali testifies to the fame of the *śālī* rice grown on its banks.¹⁰⁵

5. *Gāmbhīrikā* (XVI.15) is the same as Kālidāsa's Gambhīrā (*Meghadūta*, I.40), a tributary of the Yamunā above the Chambal flowing east from Gangapur through eastern Rajputana¹⁰⁶.

6. *Gaṅgā* (XVI.15). The region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (LXVIII.26) was called Antarvedī (V.65). Along with the Yamunā, it is spoken of as forming a necklace of the earth (XLII.32).

7. *Godāvarī* (XVI.9). It has its source in Brahmagiri, situated on the side of a village called Tryambak, 20 miles from Nasik, and falls into the Bay of Bengal.

8. *Gomati* (XVI.12).¹⁰⁷ There are several rivers of this name.¹⁰⁸ But most probably the Gumti rising in the Shahjahanpur district and joining the Ganga halfway between Varāṇasi and Ghazipur is intended. The modern city of Lucknow is situated on it. As pointed out by Fleet, the place Gomati-koṭṭaka mentioned in the Deo-Baranark inscr. must be located in its neighbourhood.¹⁰⁹

9. *Guluhā* (*v.l.* Guruhā, Garuhā, Guruhā, XIV.23). It is placed in the north-western division. According to Kern, it is the Goroigas of the Greeks. Lassen and Law identify the Greek name with the Gaurī which is the same as modern Panjkora, an affluent of the Kabul (Vedic Kubhā). But Utpala seems to take it to mean a people.

10. *Ikṣumatī* (XVI.4), the river now called Ikhan or Kālindī, a tributary of the Gaṅgā, flowing through Kumaun, Rohikhand and the district of Farrukhabad.¹¹⁰ The old town of Saṅkāśya was situated on its bank. It is the same as the Oxymagis of Arrian.¹¹¹

11. *Irāvātī* (XVI.26). It is mentioned together with the Vitastā and the Candrabhāgā and is undoubtedly the same as the modern Ravi, the Hydraotes of classical writers.

12. *Kauśikī* (XVI.15). It is either modern Kusi flowing into the Gaṅgā through the district of Purnea in Bihar or the Kusiara of Sylhet (Bangladesh) flowing through the area known as Pañca-khaṇḍa.¹¹²

13. *Kāverī* (V.64), a river in the southern division (XIV.13). It rises in the Western Ghats and flowing south-east through Mysore and the district of Coimbatore and Trichinopoly, falls into the Bay of Bengal in Tanjore district of Tamilnadu. Ptolemy mentions it as Khaberi rising in Adeisathron, the southern portion of the Western Ghats.¹¹³ Urugapura (modern Uraiyur), ancient capital of the Colas, is situated on its southern bank.

14. *Lauhitya* (XVI.15) is correctly located in the east (XIV.6). It is modern Brahmaputra. An important tributary which meets the Brahmaputra in Sadiya district is even now called Lohit. Kern suggests that probably the stream was known as Lohita, 'Red River', whereas the people in its vicinity or some district

near it, were called Lauhitya. He points out that one Ms. of the commentary has actually *Lahito nadaḥ*, while another has *Lauhitya nadaḥ*.¹¹⁴ It is mentioned as Lauhitya in the *Raghuvamśa* (IV.81) and in the Mandasor inscr. of Yaśodharman¹¹⁵ and as Lohitya in the Aphsad inscr. of Ādityasena.¹¹⁶

15. *Mahānadī* (XVI.10). Taking its rise in the Amarkantak range, it flows through Orissa and falls into the Bay of Bengal.

16. *Mahī* (XVI.31). Varāhamihira refers to people born on the bank of the Mahī. Rising in the Pāriyātra mountain, it has a south-western course up to Banswara wherefrom it turns south and passing through Gujarat drains into the Gulf of Cambay.

17. *Mālatī* (XVI.10). It cannot be identified.

18. *Mandākinī* (XVI.10). Cunningham identifies it with the Mandakin or Mandagin, a small affluent of the Paisuni or Paisundi in Bundelkhand near the Citrakūṭa hill.¹¹⁷ Fleet takes it to denote the Gaṅgā, or an arm of it.¹¹⁸

19. *Narmadā*. It rises in the Amarkantak mountain and drains into the Gulf of Cambay. As we have seen above, it was regarded as the dividing point between Āryāvarta and Dakṣiṇāpatha. Varāhamihira refers to people living on its banks (V.64) as also on its eastern and western halves (XVI, 1, 9). Its other name Revā is also mentioned (XII.6). It is described as embracing the Vindhya mountain in secret like a lady-love her lover.¹¹⁹

20. *Nirvindhya* (XVI.9). It is usually identified with the Nevuz, a tributary of the Chambal between the Betwa and the Kali-Sindh in Malwa. Some identify it with the Kali-Sindh itself.¹²⁰ But as Kālidāsa (*Meghadūta*, I.28-9) mentions the Sindhu and the Nirvindhya separately, the latter's identification with the Nevuz seems more probable.

21. *Pārā* (XVI.10), the Parvati, a tributary of the Chambal rising in Bhopal.¹²¹ The old town or Padmāvati (modern Pawaya) was situated on the confluence of Pārvaṭi and Sindhu.

According to B.N. Mukherjee (*The Pāradas*, Calcutta, 1972, p.82, n. 145), the river Pārādā mentioned in a Nasik inscription of the time of Nahapāna and identified with modern Pardi or Par in the Surat district (*ASW*, IV, p.109, fn.2) seems to be the same as the Pārā referred to in the *BS*.

22. *Payoṣṇī* (XVI.10). There are a number of rivers claiming to be ancient Payoṣṇī¹²² Cunningham identifies it with the Pahoj, a tributary of the Yamunā between the Sindh and Betwa.¹²³ But as Varāhamihira mentions it along with the Mandākinī, its identification with the above-mentioned Paisuni or Paisundi in Bundelkhand appears to be more probable.

23. *Phalgulukā* (XIV.23). It is placed in the north-western division. Fleet takes it to be a river, while Utpala seems to regard it as the name of a people as will appear from his rendering of the word in nominative plural (*Phalgulukāḥ*).

24. *Rathākhyā* (XVI.15). This is the reading in S. Dvivedi's edition. Kern points out that some manuscripts read Rathasvā, Rathampā and Rathasyā or Rathaspā. Fleet prefers Rathāhvā and compares it with Gajāhvā.¹²⁴ Rathaspā as a river is mentioned in the *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* (Caland's ed., extract 204), the *Rktaṇtra Prātiśākhya* (sūtra 209) and the *gaṇapāṭha* to Pāṇini VI.1.157. In the *Mahābhārata* (I.169.20-21), it is described as one of the seven holy streams between the Sarasvatī and the Gaṇḍakī. V.S. Agrawala¹²⁵ identifies it with the Rhodopha of Greek writers,¹²⁶ which he thinks, is the same as the modern Ramganga. But as Rhodopha is expressly described as a town, the identification of the Rathaspā with Rhodopha does not appear to be very probable. It cannot be satisfactorily identified.

25. *Sarasvatī*. Varāhamihira mentions the Sārasvatas, people living on the banks of the Sarasvatī (XVI.21), whom he places in the Middle Country (XIV.2). They are associated with the Yāmunas who are placed partly in the Middle Country and partly in the northern division. We have also a reference to the place where the stream loses itself, i.e. the sands of Patiala (*Sarasvatī naṣṭā yasmin deśe*, XVI.30). In the *Rgveda* (VI.61.2, 8; VII.96.2), the Sarasvatī is described as a mighty river flowing into the sea. Manu (II.17) speaks of the stretch of land between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dr̥śadvatī as the holiest land made by gods. In place of that mighty river, we have now an insignificant stream called Sarsuti, which, rising in the hills of Sirmur in the Sevaliks, emerges into the plains at Ad-Badri in Ambala. It disappears in the sand near the village of Chalaṇ and reappears at Bhavanipur. It again disappears at Balchhappar and reappears at Bara Khera. At the village of Urnai near Pehoa, it is fed by the Mārkaṇḍa and the joint stream still called Sarasvatī joins the Ghaggar which evidently formed the lower part of the Sarasvatī.¹²⁷ Some have identified it with Ghaggar itself¹²⁸ with the Helmand

in Afghanistan¹²⁹, and with Arghandau in Arachosia.¹³⁰ But as Varāhamihira places it in Madhyadeśa, he seems to have the stream of Sarsuti in view.¹³¹

In recent decades over one hundred sites of the Harappan culture have been discovered in the basin of the river Sarasvatī and the work at some of the sites like Kalibangan and Kunal has revealed that the beginnings of this civilization lay in this region. In view of this fact the culture should better be designated as the Sārasvata instead of the common pre-Harappan and Harappan or Indus civilization. A survey of the basin of this river is currently in progress and its findings are eagerly awaited.

26. *Sarayū* (V.65; XVI.15), modern Ghagra or Gogra, a tributary of the Gaṅgā, on whose bank the town of Āyodhyā is situated. Utpala (on V.65) describes it as an eastern river (*pūrva-nadī*), probably referring to its course near Chapra where it joins the Gaṅgā.

27. *Śatadrū* (XVI.20), the Hesydrus of the classical writers, is modern Sutlej, the easternmost stream of the Panjab.

28. *Sindhu* (XVI.10, 15). Varāhamihira locates the Sindhu (Indus) in the southwestern division (XIV.19) and refers to its eastern portion (*Sindhu-nada-pūrvabhāga*, XVI.20) and banks (V.66, 80). The tract of land lying north to south between it and the Jhelum was also known by the name Sindhu or Saindhava to which we have numerous references. It may also be noted that two rivers bearing the name Sindhu flow in the Malwa region.

29. *Śīprā* (XVI.9), still known by this name, is a tributary of the Chambal into which it falls a little below Sitamau. The city of Ujjain is situated on its bank.

30. *Śōṇa* (V.65; XVI.1), modern Sone, rising in the Amarkantak range and draining itself into the Gaṅgā near Patna. Megasthenes¹³² calls it Erannaboas (a Greek corruption of Sanskrit Hiraṇyavāha) on whose junction with the Gaṅgā was situated Palimbothra (*Pāṭalīputra*), the celebrated Maurya capital.

31. *Tāmraparṇi*. Varāhamihira locates it in the south (XIV.16) and speaks of its pearl-fisheries (LXXX.2,3). Even today it is known by this name. The united stream of the Tāmraparṇi and Chittar in Tinnevely also bears this name. Both of these streams have their source at the Agastikūṭa mountain.¹³³ The port of

Kolkhoi (Korkai) was situated on the mouth of this river,¹³⁴ but now it is five miles inland.

32. *Tāpī* (XVI.12),¹³⁵ modern Tāptī. It rises in the Satpura hills and empties itself into the Arabian Sea.

33. *Vedasmṛtī* (XVI.31). It has been identified with the Besula in Malwa. In the Bhīṣma-parvan (9.17) of the *Mahābhārata*, it is called Vedasmṛtā.

34. *Veṇā* (XVI.9), in the southern division (XIV.12), is modern Wainganga, a tributary of the Godāvarī. Varāhamihira refers to its banks (IV.26), which were celebrated for diamond industry (LXXIX.6).

35. *Veṇumatī* (XIV.23). It is placed in the north-western division. Alberuni (I.302) explains it as Tirmidh.

36. *Vetravatī* (XVI.9), modern Betwa, a tributary of the Yamunā.

37. *Vipāśā* (XVI.20), Beas, one of the five rivers of the Panjab. According to Yāska (*Nirukta*, III.9.3.27), it was also known as Ārjikiyā in the *Rgveda* (VIII.3.6).

38. *Vitastā* (XVI.26), the Hydaspes of the Greek writers, is the Jhelum, one of the five streams of the Panjab.

39. *Yamunā*. Varāhamihira refers to people living on the banks of the Yamunā (V.37) and to its southern bank (XVI.2). He locates the people of the Yamunā region (*Yāmunas*) partly in Madhyadeśa (XIV.2) and partly in the northern division (XIV.25).

Forests

1. *Daṇḍaka* (XVI.11). Varāhamihira locates Daṇḍakāvāna in the southern division (XIV.16) and speaks of its ruler (*Daṇḍakādhipati*. XI.56). According to the *Rāmāyana* (Uttarkāṇḍa, LXXIX.18-20), Daṇḍakāranya comprised the territory between the Vindhya and Śaivala mountains including Vidarbha, and extended up to Janasthāna on the Godāvarī according to Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*.¹³⁶ The inclusion of Vidarbha within Daṇḍaka is also suggested by Kauṭilya who says that the king of Daṇḍaka who met his doom in consequence of his attempt on a Brāhmāṇa girl was a Bhoja.¹³⁷ In view of this, Pargiter's view that Daṇḍaka comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Krishna¹³⁸ needs substantial modification.

2. *Dharmāranya* (XIV.3) is placed in the Middle Country. The *Mahābhārata* (III.82.46) informs us that Kaṇvāśrama (Kansawa near Kota) was called Dharmāranya.¹³⁹

3. *Mahātavi* (XIV.13), a great forest in the southern division. It may be the same as Mahākāntāra, a country in Dakṣiṇāpatha whose king was defeated by Samudragupta.¹⁴⁰

4. *Naimiṣa*. Varāhamihira refers to the lord of the Naimiṣa forest (*Naimiṣādhipati*, XI.60). It is Nimkharavana or Nimsar near the Nimsar Rly. Station, 20 miles from Sitapur and 45 miles to the north-west of Lucknow. It is situated on the left bank of the Gumti.

5. *Nṛsimhavana* (XIV.22). It is placed in the north-western division. Kern splits it into Nṛsimha and Vana.¹⁴¹ Alberuni (I.302) takes it to denote 'people with lion-faces,' which is obviously incorrect.

6. *Puṣkara* (V.68; XVI.30) or *Puṣkarāranya* (XI.35) is represented by Pokhar, six miles from Ajmer. It is a famous place of pilgrimage frequented by pilgrims.

7. *Vanarājya* (XIV.30), a forest-kingdom in the north-eastern division.

8. *Vanarāṣṭra* (XIV.29), a forest territory, in the north-eastern division.

9. *Vanaugha* (v.l. Vanauka), 'a collection of forests', in the western division (XIV.20).

10. *Vasuvana* (v.l. Vasudhana, XIV.31), a forest in the north-eastern division.

We get references to some forest kingdoms in epigraphic records. Thus, the Gupta emperor Samudragupta claims to have compelled the kings of all the forest-kingdoms (*sarvāṭavikarāja*) to render service to him. Mahārāja Saṅkṣobha is described as the ruler of eighteen forest kingdoms.¹⁴²

Oceans

We have so far noticed physical features of the interior of India. Varāhamihira also refers to Yāmyodadhi (southern ocean, XIV.15) in the southern division, and Mahārṇava (the great ocean, XIV.19) in the south-western division, both undoubtedly referring to the Indian Ocean, and to Pūrva-sāgara (V.65), which is no doubt the same as the Bay of Bengal. There is also a reference to the mythical milk-

ocean called Kṣīroda placed in the eastern division (XIV.6). The ocean is described as the girdle of the earth.

III

PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES

1. *Ābhīras* (V.38, 42; IX.19; XVI.30). The *Ābhīras* are placed in the southern (XIV.12) and south-western divisions (XIV.18). They are sometimes take to represent a foreign people, who immigrated into India from some part of eastern Iran in or before the second century BC¹⁴³. The *Mahābhārata* (Śalyaparvan, 37.1.2) associates them with the Śūdras and speaks of their republican settlement on the Sindhu and the Sarasvatī (Sabhāparvan, 32.9-10). The Aberia (country of the *Ābhīras*) of the author of the *Periplus* comprised, according to Schoff, southern part of Gujarat including Surat.¹⁴⁴ McCrindle places Ptolemy's Aberia 'to the east of the river Indus, above the place where it bifurcates to form the delta.'¹⁴⁵ In the *Mausalaparvan* (7.47-63) of the *Mahābhārata*, we find the *Ābhīras* living near Pañcanada (Panjab), where they attacked Arjuna when he was carrying the women of the Vṛṣṇis after the extinction of their male members. The route of their migration to Koṅkaṇa and Aparānta, where they are found in later times, lay through the region between Jhansi and Bhilsa, which is consequently known as Ahirwar. In second the third centuries of the Christian era, we find them in important political position in Gujarat and Nasik region. The Gunda (Kathiawad) inscr. (AD 180) belonging to the reign of Rudrasimha I records the charities of an *Ābhīra* general, Rudrabhūti, son of Bāpaka.¹⁴⁶ Īśvaradatta, who issued silver coins of the Satrapal style with the title *mahākṣatrapa*, is supposed to be an *Ābhīra*. According to Rapson, these coins belong to some date between AD 236 and 239,¹⁴⁷ while D.R. Bhandarkar places them between AD 188 and 190.¹⁴⁸ A Nasik cave inscription was issued in the ninth regnal year of king Māḍharīputra Īśvarasena, son of *Ābhīra* Śivadatta. He appears to have been in possession of a large territory comprising Koṅkaṇa, Gujarat and Maharashtra.¹⁴⁹ V.V. Mirashi has shown that the *mahārājas* Svāmīdāsa, Bhūluṇḍa, and Rudradāsa were ruling over Khandesh as feudatories of the *Ābhīras* in the years 67, 107 and 117 respectively.¹⁵⁰ Thus, the location of the *Ābhīras* in the south and south-west is quite plausible. Their inclusion among the north Indian tribes frightened by Samudragupta shows that they continued to enjoy a significant position in the north down to the fourth century AD.¹⁵¹

2. *Abhisāra* (XXXII.19), a country in the north-eastern division (XIV.29), the Abisares of the Greeks. Stein identifies the kingdom of Abhisāra with the tract of the lower and middle hills between the Jhelum and Chenab including the state of Rājapura (Rajauri) in Kashmir.¹⁵² Varāhamihira places it too much to the east.

3. *Ādarśa* (XIV.25), a country and its people in the northern division. According to the Dharmasūtras, Ādarsa is the place where the Sarasvatī disappears. It was regarded as the western boundary of Āryāvarta. Elsewhere, Varāhamihira himself locates the place of the disappearance of the Sarasvatī in the western division (*Naṣṭā yasmin deśe Sarasvatī paścimo deśaḥ*, XVI.30). S.N. Majumdar Sastri suggests that it lay not far from the ancient kingdoms of Srughna and Trigarta (Kangra).¹⁵³

4. *Agnīdhra* (v.l. Agīvyā or Agnītya, XIV.25), a people in the northern division. Alberuni (I, 302) gives the name as Agnītya,

5. *Ākara* (XIV.12), a country in the southern division. Kern translates it as 'the mines' and suggests that it denotes modern Khandesh.¹⁵⁴ Ākara and Avanti are closely associated in inscriptions¹⁵⁵ and in the Junagadh Inscr. of Rudradāman I, we find the phrase *Pūru-āpar-Ākar-Āvanti*. Ākara, thus, denotes eastern Malwa. The name is still preserved in Agar, 35 miles north-east of Ujjain.

6. *Ambarāvata* (XIV.27), a people in the northern division. The text gives Ambara which Utpala paraphrases as Ambarāvata. The analogy of the names like Puṣkalāvati suggests that Ambarāvati was probably the name of a city, the inhabitants of which were called Ambarāvata.

7. *Ambaṣṭha* (IX.19; XVI.21), a people in the eastern (XIV.7) and south-western divisions (XIV.17).¹⁵⁶ In the time of Alexander we find the Ambaṣṭhas, Abastanoi of Alexander's historians, living in northern part of Sind as also on the lower Acesines (Chenab).¹⁵⁷ Ptolemy speaks of the Ambautai as settled in the east of the country of the Paropanisadai.¹⁵⁸ In the Sabhapārvaṇ of the *Mahābhārata* (32.7), they are associated with the north-western tribes like the Śibis, Kṣudrakas and Mālavas. In later times some branches of the Ambaṣṭhas appear to have migrated to the south and east. Ptolemy refers to the Ambastai as living in the Vindhyan region together with the Bhils and Gonds.¹⁵⁹ Even to the present day, Ambaṣṭha Kāyasthas are to be found in Bihar and Bengal.¹⁶⁰

8. *Ānarta* (V.80; XVI.30), a country in the south-western division (XIV.17).

In XIV.33, it is alluded to as the representative country of that division. The Junagadh Inscr. of Rudradāman alludes to it as a country included in his kingdom.¹⁶¹ The *Mahābhārata* (II.14-50) mentions Kuśasthalī as another name for Dvārakā situated in Ānarta.¹⁶² Ānarta, thus, denotes northern Gujarat with its capital at Dvārakā.

9. *Andhra*. Varāhamihira refers to Andhra as a country (XVI.11 XVII.25), mentions its king (*Andhra-pati*, XI.59) and places it in the south-eastern division (XIV.8). The Andhras as a people are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII.18), R.E.XIII of Aśoka¹⁶³ and several other works. According to some, they belonged to Dravidian stock and lived in the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna,¹⁶⁴ while according to others, they were originally a Vindhyan people, who later on extended to the Godavari and Krishna valleys.¹⁶⁵ The Jātakas mention a town named Andhapura on the river Telavāha, which is sometimes identified with modern Bezwada.¹⁶⁶

10. *Aṅga* (V.72; IX.10; X.14, XI.56; XVII.26; XXXII.15). The Aṅgas are first mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (V.22.14) and in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII.22). In Buddha's time it was one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* or great states. Aṅga comprised the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr with Campā as its capital. A legend about the origin of this name is recorded in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I.23,13-14). It is stated that in consequence of being burnt by Śiva, Kāma, the god of love, came to be known as Anaṅga (bodyless) and the country where he abandoned his body is called Aṅga. According to some other works, Aṅga was so called after an eponymous prince.

11. *Antardvipin* (XIV.25), a country in the northern division.

12. *Anuviddha* (v.i.*Anuviśva*, XIV.31), a people or country in the north-eastern division.

13. *Arava* (XIV.17), a people or country in the south-western division. Arava is a Telugu word for a Tamilian, Tamil Aravamu.

14. *Arimeda* (XIV.2), a people in the Middle Country.

15. *Ārjunāyana* (IV.25; XI.59; XVI.21; XVII.19), a people in the northern division (XIV.25). Historians try to connect them with the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna or the Haihaya king of that name. The inclusion of the Ārjunāyanas among the frontier tribes which submitted to Samudragupta¹⁶⁷ has led Fleet to connect them

with the Kalacuris who trace their descent from Kārtaviya Arjuna.¹⁶⁸ This suggestion lacks support. We know from the *Kāśikā* (on Pāṇini, II.4.66, *Bahv=aca iṇaḥ prācyā-Bharateṣu*) that the Ārjunāyanas claimed descent from the Bhārata (Pāṇḍava) hero Arjuna. Moreover, the Kalacuris are known to have ruled in Central India and Deccan, not in the north. The find-spots of the coins of the Ārjunāyana republic (*cir.* 1st Century BC) indicate that their country, which was known as Ārjunāyanaka,¹⁶⁹ lay within the triangle of Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.¹⁷⁰ The Ārjunāyanas seem to have grown powerful after the decline of the Indo-Greeks in the first century BC, but were soon subdued by the Kuśāṇas after whose decline they regained their independence. Though they had again to submit to Samudra Gupta in the fourth century, numerous references in our work indicate that they continued to hold their own down to the sixth century AD.

16. *Asika* (XI.56). Varāhamihira refers to the lord of the Asika country or people (*Asik-eśa*). There is great controversy regarding the location of the Asika country. The reading Asika-nagara in line 4 of the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela is doubtful. K.P. Jayaswal and R.D. Banerji prefer to read Mūṣika-nagara.¹⁷¹ The epigraph states that the Kalinga king Khāravela, without caring for Sātakarṇi, sent a large contingent to the west (of Kalinga) which on reaching the river Kanhabemṇā (Skt. Kṛṣṇāveṇā) struck terror into the hearts of the people (or city) of Muṣika or Asika-nagara. The Kṛṣṇāveṇā is usually identified with the river Kṛṣṇā. Those who read Asika regard it as the Prakrit form of Sanskrit Ṛṣika which they place between the rivers Kṛṣṇā and the Godavari.¹⁷² But, as pointed out by Mirashi, this Kṛṣṇā flows south, not west, of Kalinga. And he proposes to identify it with the Kanhan, a tributary of the Wainganga, flowing about seventeen km north of Nagpur which is also called Kṛṣṇā in the epic literature.¹⁷³ However, as we have shown elsewhere, the Kṛṣṇāveṇā must refer to the combined flow of the two rivers as indicated by the name itself.¹⁷⁴ Thus, the Asikas cannot be placed in the south on the Kṛṣṇā. Moreover, it is interesting to note that our author differentiates the Asikas (XI.56) and the Ṛṣika (XIV.15), the latter being rightly placed in the southern division. Therefore Mirashi's equation between the Asikas and the Ṛṣikas and their location in the Khandesh region of Maharashtra also is wide of the mark. Recent archaeological work at Aḍam in the Nagpur district has shed welcome light on this problem. It has yielded a sealing of the *Asika-janapada*.¹⁷⁵ This *janapada* seems to have denoted the region round Aḍam, and Aḍam itself can be identified with Asikanagara. It is one of the richest

archaeological sites of the Indian sub-continent going back to chalcolithic times and ending with the Sātavāhanas.

17. *Aśmaka* (V.39, 73, 74, 79; IX.18, 27; XVI. 11; XXXI.1. 15), a country and its people in the north-western division (XIV.22). Mention is made of the lord of the *Aśmakas* (*Aśmakapa*, XI. 54; *-nātha*, XI. 55; *-narendra*, XVII. 15). In Pali and Sanskrit texts Assaka or *Aśmaka* is commonly mentioned as a southern country on the Godāvarī with its capital at Potali or Potana or Paudanya. Bhaṭṭasvāmin, a commentator of the *Arthaśāstra*, identifies it with Maharashtra. T.W. Rhys Davids, however, thinks that the *Aśmaka* country was originally situated immediately to the north-west of Avanti and that the settlement on the Godāvarī was a later colony.¹⁷⁶ Neither of these countries can be our *Aśmaka* for Varāhamihira places it in the north-west. Therefore, as suggested by Kern¹⁷⁷, it is more plausible to identify our *Aśmaka* with the Assakenoi of the Greek writers. In Alexander's time, the Assakenoi people were ruled over by Assakenos whose territory comprised part of Swat and Buner and extended eastwards as far as the Indus and had its capital at the town of Massaga (*Skr.Maśakāvati*).¹⁷⁸

18. *Aśvamukha* (XVI.34), literally meaning 'horse-faced people'. *Aśvavadanas* (XVI.6) and *Turaṅgānanas* (XIV.25) meaning the same thing are located in the eastern and northern divisions respectively. It is not possible to decide whether the semi-divine beings called Kinnaras are intended or a people with faces bearing certain resemblance to that of a horse. The author of the *Periplus* mentions the Horse-faces whom Schoff identifies with the Tibeto-Burman races on the eastern frontier of India.¹⁷⁹

19. *Aśvattha* (XIV.3), a people in the Madhyadeśa. They were probably so called after the *aśvattha* (*ficus religiosa*) tree which appears to have been their totem. See K.K. Dasgupta, ed. *The Topographical List of the Brhatsamhitā* by J.F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1973, p.21, fn.17.

20. *Avagāna* (XI.61; XVI.37) seems to be the same as Yaun Chwang's O-po-kien or Avakan which Cunningham is inclined to identify with the name of Afghan.¹⁸⁰

21. *Avanti* (V.40, 73; IX.17, 18, 21; XI.35) denotes western Malwa, its people and the town of Ujjayinī. Varāhamihira refers to the *janapadas* of Avanti (*Āvantikā janapadāḥ*, V.64) and its king (*Āvanta*, XIV.33). Although Avanti is not named in the enumeration of the countries in the southern division, its king is described

as representing this very division. As we have seen above, Varāhamihira was himself an inhabitant of Avanti. In the Junagadh inscr. of Rudradāman I¹⁸¹ and the Nasik cave inscr. of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi it is associated with Ākara. The Junagadh inscr. in particular describes Ākara and Avanti as the eastern and the western. Thus, Avanti seems to denote western Malwa.

22. *Āvartaka* (XIV.12), a people in the southern division.¹⁸²

23. *Badara* (XIV.19), a country or people in the south-western division. Badaras were probably the people of Yaun Chwang's O-cha-li or Badarī (or Vadarī) which Cunningham identifies with modern Eder. In the time of the Chinese pilgrim Badarī was a large kingdom bounded by Ajmer and Ranthambhor on the north, by the Loni and the Chambal on the east and west and the Malwa frontier on the south, and extending from the mouth of the river Banas in the Rann of Cutch to the Chambal near Mandasor.¹⁸³ The city of Vadarī mentioned in a Basantgarh inscr.¹⁸⁴ is, according to Cunningham, the same as Eder.

24. *Bāhlika* (V.37; XVIII.6), or *Bāhlika* (X.70 XVI.1; XVII.13, 25; XXXII.15), or *Vāhlika* (IX.10), or *Vāhlika* (V.80), a country and its people. It is modern Balkh or Bactria in the extreme north of Afghanistan. In the Meharauli iron pillar inscr., king Candra (probably Candragupta II) is said to have crossed the seven mouths of the Indus before reducing the Vāhlikas,¹⁸⁵ showing that the latter lived beyond the Indus. J. Przyluski thinks that Bāhlika was an Iranian settlement of the Madras.¹⁸⁶ Bāhlikas are sometimes confused with the Vāhikas¹⁸⁷, who, according to the *Mahābhārata* (VIII.44.6-7), lived in the region watered by the five rivers of the Panjab and the Indus. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (II.68.18-9), however, places the Bāhlikas on the river Beas. It is not improbable, therefore, that the Vāhikas were a branch of the same stock as the Bāhlikas or that a branch of the Bāhlikas lived in the Panjab also.¹⁸⁸

25. *Barbara* (V.42), a people in the south-west division (XIV.18). The Barbaras must be located in the region about the port of Barbaricum situated on the middle mouth of the Indus as described by the author of the *Periplus*¹⁸⁹, or near the town of Barbarei, forming one of the islands of the Indus delta, mentioned by Ptolemy.¹⁹⁰ It has been suggested that Barbaricum of the *Periplus* is the same as Barbarika mentioned in the *Dhanvantarīya Nighaṇṭu*.¹⁹¹ The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (LVII.39) actually places the Barbara country in the Sindhu valley. The statement of B.C. Law that the '*Bṛhatsamhitā* refers to them (Barbaras) as north or north-west tribes'¹⁹² is incorrect.

26. *Bhadra*, a people placed in the Middle country (XIV.2) and the eastern (XIV.7) and southern divisions (XIV.16). Kern renders Bhadra by 'Blessed' and thinks that the Bhadrās are probably the same as the Bhadrāśvas mentioned below.¹⁹³ The presence of the Bhadrās in eastern India is vouched for by the Khalimpur copper plate inscr. which informs us that Gopāla, the father of Dharmapāla, married Deddādevī, the daughter of a Bhadra chief (*Bhadr-ātmajā*).¹⁹⁴

The Bhadrās are named as a *gaṇa* along with the Rohitakas (people of Rohtak in Haryana) and the Mālavas in *Mahābhārata*, III.253.19-20. See S.B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1957, pp.24ff. It is difficult to determine if the Uttamabhadrās who lived in the Ajmer region of Rajasthan and are said in one of the Nasik inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna to have been rescued from the attack of the Mālayas (probably the same as the Mālavas) by Uṣavadāta (ASWI, IV, pp.99f.) had anything to do with the Bhadrās.

27. *Bhadrāśva* (IX.11), a fabulous people whose origin can be traced to the 'blessed horses' of the sun described in the *R̥gveda* (I.115.2).¹⁹⁵

28. *Bhalla* (v.l. Bhilla), a people in the north-east division (XIV.30).

29. *Bharatas* (XVI.20). In the *R̥gveda*, the Bharatas are brought in special connection with the rivers Sarasvatī, Āpayā and Dṛṣadvatī, showing that they lived in the Madhyadeśa of later ages.¹⁹⁶ In the Brāhmaṇa period, they merged in the Kuru-Pāṇcala people. Though the Bharatas lost their tribal entity, their fame lingered till late times.

30. *Bhr̥ṅgi* (IV.22), a people who cannot be properly located.¹⁹⁷

30 a. *Campa* (XVI.3), perhaps Chamba in Punjab.

31. *Cañcūka* (XIV.18, v.l. Campuka), a people in the south-west division. They may be identified with the Chenchus, a hilly tribe, living in the Srīśailam area of Andhra Pradesh. The physical features of the present day Chenchus very much resemble those of the human figures in Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda art.

32. *Carmadvīpa* (XIV.9), literally meaning 'skin-island', in the south-east division.¹⁹⁸

33. *Carmaraṅga* (XIV.23), a people in the north-west division.

34. *Cedi* (XVI.3; XXXII.22), a country the inhabitants of which (*Cedika*, XIV.8) are placed in the south-east division. The word *Caidya*, 'Cedi king', is found in

XI.59. Mention is made of the famous Cedi king (*Cedipa*) Vasu Uparicara who is said to have started the festival Indramaha (XLII.8) He is usually considered to be identical with Kasu Caidya who is so hyperbolically extolled in the *Dānastutis* of the *Ṛgveda* (VIII.5.37-39).¹⁹⁹ The Cedi country roughly corresponds to modern Baghelkhand and adjoining regions. Tripurī, the capital of Kalacuris, is also mentioned (XIV.9).

35. *Ceryāryaka* (XIV.15), a people in the southern division. Utpala takes it to be one word, but it may be split up into Cerya and Āryaka²⁰⁰. The former will then denote the inhabitants of Kerala which comprises Malabar, Cochin and Travancore regions.

36. *Cīna* (V.77, 78, 80; X.7, 11; XI.61; XVI.1, 37), a people in the north-east division (XIV.30). In the Pali *Sāsanavaṃsa*, Himavantapadesa is stated to be the Cīnaraṭṭha. The name Cīna also occurs in the Nagarjunakonda inscr. of the Ikṣvāku king Virapuruṣadatta. B.C. Law places it in the Himalayas beyond Cilāta or Kirāta.²⁰¹ Kern (on V.77, 78, 80), however, renders it by 'the Chinese'.

37. *Cipiṭanāsika* (XIV.26), a 'flat-nosed people' in the northern division. This seems to refer to some people with characteristic Mangolian features such as the flat nose. The *Periplus*, it is interesting to note, mentions a people called Cirrhadae with flattened nose, who, according to Schoff, were a Bhoṭa tribe, whose descendants, still called Kirāta, live in the Morung, west of Sikkim.²⁰² Pliny (VII.2) also refers to the Scyrites who 'have merely holes in their heads instead of nostrils, and flexible feet like the body of a serpent.' People without nostrils are also mentioned by Megasthenes who is reproved by Strabo (XV.1.57) for deviating into fables.

38. *Cīranivāsin* (XIV.31), literally 'wearers of bark', a people in the north-east division.

39. *Cola* (V.40; XI.61; XVI.10, 37), a country and its people in the southern division (XIV.13). Stretching along the eastern coast from the river Pennar to the Vellar and bounded on the west by Coorg, the Cola country comprised the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and a part of the Pudukottai state.²⁰³ It was drained by the river Kāverī. In the Aihole inscr. of Pulakeśin II²⁰⁴ the Kāverī is especially associated with the Cola country. Ptolemy refers to the Colas as Soringae with their capital at Orthoura, Sanskrit Urugapura, modern Uraiyur on the southern bank of the Kāverī.²⁰⁵

40. *Ḍāmara* (v.l. *Dāmara* XIV.30), a people in the north-east division. Wilson identified them with a fierce intractable tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashmir.²⁰⁶ Stein, however, shows that the word *Ḍāmara* is used as a common noun meaning feudal landholder.²⁰⁷

41. *Danḍa-piṅgalaka* (XIV.27), a people in the northern division.

42. *Danturaka* (XIV.6), a people in the eastern division. Alberuni (I.301) takes Dantura to mean 'people with long teeth.' Dey suggests that it is a corruption of Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kalinga.²⁰⁸ This suggestion is untenable, for, while Danturaka is placed in the eastern division, Kalinga is assigned to the south-east division (XIV.8).

43. *Darada* (V.42, 79; XIII.9), a people and country in the north-east division (XIV.29). It is Dardistan north of Kashmir on the upper Indus. Aurel Stein identifies its capital Daratpurī with modern Gurez.²⁰⁹ The seats of the Daradas, which have remained unchanged since the time of Herodotus, extend 'from Chitral and Yasin across the Indus region of Gilgit, Chilas and Bunji to the Kishanganga valley in the immediate north of Kashmir.'²¹⁰

44. *Dārva* (XIV.30), a country in the north-east division. In literature *Dārva* is closely associated with *Abhisāra* and these together roughly comprised the Punch and Naushera region between the Jhelum and the Chenab. Its location in the north-east is evidently incorrect.

45. *Dāsameya* (XIV.28), a people in the northern division.

46. *Daśārṇa* (V.40; X.15; XXXII.11), a country, the inhabitants whereof (*Dāśārṇa*, XVI.25) are placed in the south-east division (XIV.10). It denotes the region east of *Vidiśā* watered by the river *Daśārṇa*, modern Dhasan.

47. *Dāśeraka* (v.l. *Dāseraka*, V.67), a people and country in the northern division (XIV.26). Dey suggests to identify it with Malwa,²¹¹ while D.C. Sircar regards it as another name for Maru, i.e. Marwar region in Rajputana.²¹² That our author does not intend any of these two countries by *Dāśeraka* is evident from the fact that he locates *Ākara* and *Avanti* forming eastern and western Malwa in the southern division and Maru or Marwar region in the Middle Country, whereas *Dāśeraka* is placed in the northern division.

48 *Ḍirghagrīva* (XVI.23), literally meaning 'long-necked', a people in the north-west division.

49. *Dirghakeśa* (XIV.23), literally 'long-haired, a people in the north-west division.

50. *Dirghāsya* (XIV.23), literally 'long-mouthed', a people in the north-west division.

51. *Diviṣṭha* (XIV.31), literally 'inhabitants of sky', a people in the north-east division. Khasthas (XIV.22), meaning the same, are also placed in the north-west division, while Khacaras (people roaming in the sky, XIV.28) are assigned to the northern division. They appear to be a fabulous people.

52. *Draviḍa* (v.l. *Dramiḍa*,²¹³ IX.15, 19; XVI.11; XXXII.15), a country and its people in the south-west division (XIV.19). Varāhamihira refers to the lords of the Dravidas (*Draviḍ-ādhipān*, IV.23) and to the eastern half of their country (*Draviḍ-ānām prāg=ardham*, XVI.2). A sculptural measure current in the Draviḍa country is mentioned in LVII.4. Alberuni (I.302) has *Dramiḍa*. *Draviḍa* or *Dramiḍa* is usually regarded as the Sanskrit name of the Tamil country. According to Kern, however, Varāhamihira seems to intend some Draviḍian tribe in the west, perhaps the Brahuis in Baluchistan, who belong to the Dravidian stock.²¹⁴

53. *Dvīpas* (XVI.14), islands located in the southern division. Kern renders it as Maldives.

54. *Ekacaraṇa* (XIV.31) and *Ekapāda* (XIV.7), literally 'one-footed people', in the north-east and eastern division respectively.

55. *Ekavilocana* (XIV.23), 'people with one eye', in the north-west division. People with three eyes (*Trinetra*) are also placed in the same division.

56. *Gaṇarājya* (XIV.14 and comm.), a kingdom in the southern division.

57. *Gandhāra* (IV.23; V.77, 78; IX.21; X7; XVI.25; XVII.18; LXVIII.26), the people of the Gandhāra country in the northern division (XIV.28). Gandhāra extended from the Kabul valley to Takṣaśilā and comprised the Rawalpindī and Peshawar districts. Varāhamihira mentions two towns of Gandhāra, viz., Takṣaśila and Puṣkalāvati (modern Charsadda), situated to the east and west respectively of the Indus. Thus, Gandhāra lay on both sides of the Indus. Strabo and Ptolemy, however, use the name in a limited sense to denote the country west of the Indus.²¹⁵ Gandharva-deśa appears to have been the original name of Gandhāra (cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* VII, 101.11, *Takṣam Takṣaśilāyām tu Puṣkalaṁ Puṣkalāvate, Gandharvadeśe rucire Gandhāra-viṣaye ca saḥ*).

58. *Gandharva* (XIII.8; LXXXVI.33), a people or a class of demi-gods in the north-east division (XIV.31).

59. *Gauḍaka* (XIV.7), a country and people in the eastern division. Gauḍa is known to Pāṇini (VI.2.100) and Kauṭilya (II.13). In the Haraha inscr. of Maukhari Išānavarman, the Gauḍas are described as living on the sea-shore.²¹⁶ While in a limited sense, Gauḍa comprised the present Murshidabad district and the southern-most areas of the Malda district in Bengal,²¹⁷ it is sometimes used in a wider sense to denote nearly the whole of Bengal. According to some, Western Bengal came to be called Gauḍa from the city of the same name, the ruins of which can be seen about 10 miles south-west of Malda,²¹⁸ others hold that the city was named after the country.²¹⁹ While Kern's text gives Gauḍaka, in his translation of the verse he gives 'Gauras' and makes the following observation: "The whites' supposed to live in the Śvetadvīpa, which according to *Kathāsaritsāgara* 54, 18, 199, lies near the cocoa-island."²²⁰ Alberuni (I, 301) gives the reading Gauraka.

60. *Gauragrīva* (XIV.3), literally 'white-necked', a people in Madhyadeśa.

61. *Gavya* (XIV.28), a people in the northern division.

62. *Ghoṣa*, a country in Madhyadeśa (XIV.2) and in the north-east division (XIV.30). While in his translation of XIV.2, Kern retains the name Ghoṣa, in that of XIV.30, he renders it by "Ghoshas (stations of herdsmen)."²²¹

63. *Haihaya* (XIV.20), a people and their country in the western division. Themselves a branch of the Yādavas, the Haihayas were, according to the Purāṇas, divided into five clans, viz., Vitihotra (or Virahotra), Bhoja, Avanti, Tuṇḍikera (*v.l.* Kuṇḍikera, Taṇḍikera and Tuṇḍakera) and Tālajaṅgha.²²² The Kalacuris of Central India were also called Haihayas. The Haihaya country, also called Anūpa, comprised the region round Māhiṣmatī.

64. *Hala* (*v.l.* Laha, XVI.6; XXXII.19), a people in the north-west division (XIV.22).

65. *Halada* (*v.l.* Lahaḍa, Lahara, Laḍaha, Kalaha XIV.22), a country in the north-west division. Kern in his translation gives Lahaḍa, but suggests that "this seems to be Lahara, so frequently mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅginī*, eg. VII.912, 1373 (Lahara, 'Laharian', 1173). It is a borderland between Kashmir and

Dardistan; to this identification of Lahara and Lahada, it will not be objected that our author, committing the grave blunder of placing Kashmir and Dardistan in the north-east, should needs have assigned a wrong situation to Lahada too."²²³

66. *Hārahaura* (XIV.33). Varāhamihira refers to the king of Hārahaura or Harahaura as representing the north-west division. It is supposed to be the tract of land lying between the Indus and the Jhelum and the Gandgarh mountain and the Salt range.²²⁴

67. *Hematāla* (XIV.28), a people in the northern division.

68. *Hūṇa* (v.l. *Hūna*, XIV.27), a people in the northern division. Mention is also made of White Huns (Sita-Hūṇa, XI.61; Śveta-Hūṇa, XVI.37).²²⁵ We learn from the Bhitari pillar inscr. of Skandagupta that he had to encounter the Hūṇas.²²⁶ Yaun Chwang informs us that Bālāditya, the son of Tathāgatagupta, imprisoned but released at the request of the queen mother, the Hūṇa chief Mihirakula and that the latter fled to Kashmir and having treacherously murdered its king, made himself ruler and conquered Gandhāra.²²⁷ Some identify this Bālāditya with Bhānugupta.²²⁸ The war between Bālāditya-Bhānugupta and Mihirakula is probably echoed in the Eran pillar inscr. which tells us that along with 'glorious Bhānugupta, the bravest man on the earth, a mighty king equal to Pārtha,' Goparāja went to Eran and died after fighting a very famous battle about AD 510-11.²²⁹ Having been expelled from Central India, the Hūṇas appear to have confined themselves to Kashmir and Gandhāra. They continued to be a source of trouble to some Indian ruling families. They are mentioned in the Apsad inscr. of Ādityasena.²³⁰ In the *Harṣa-carita* (V) we find Prabhākaravardhana, who is styled *Hūṇa-hariṇa kesarin*, i.e. lion to the Hūṇa deer, sending his son Rājyavardhana to Uttarāpatha to fight with the Hūṇas.

69. *Ikṣvāku* (V.75; IX.17; XI.58). It is difficult to say whether these Ikṣvākus had any connection with the Ikṣvākus some of whose generations ruling in Andhradeśa are known to us from Nagarjunakonda inscriptions of about the third century AD.²³¹

70. *Jaṭādhara* (XIV.13), literally 'a people having thick matted hair', in the southern division.

71. *Jaṭāsura* (XIV.30), literally 'demons with matted hair, in the north-east

division. Saṅghavarman gives the variant Jaṭāsura in place of Jaṭāpura in the *Mahāmāyūi*.²³²

72. *Jaṭharāṅga* (XIV.8), a people in the south-east division. Alberuni (I.301) splits it up into Jaṭhara and Aṅga.

73. *Jṛṅga* (XIV.21), a people in the western division.

74. *Kaccha* (IV.22), in the southern division (XIV.16), is modern Kachh or Cutch, to the north of Kathiawad.

75. *Kacchāra* (XIV.27), a people in the northern division.

76. *Kaikaya* (IV.22; V.67, 74; XVI.25; XVII.18), the inhabitants of the Kekaya country in the northern division (XIV.25). There is a reference to the lord of the Kaikayas (*Kaikaya-nātha*) in XI.60. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (11.68, 19, 21), the Kekaya country lay beyond the Beas and had its capital at Girivraja which Cunningham identifies with Girjak or Jalalpur on the Jhelum.²³³ Roughly speaking, it comprised the districts of Jhelum, Shahpur and Gujarat.

77. *Kailāvata* (XIV.26), a people or country in the northern division.

78. *Kālaka* (XIV.19), a people in the south-west division.

79. *Kaliṅga* (V.35, 75, 79; IX.10, 26; X.16; XVI.1,3; XVII.13, 22; XXXII.15), a country and its people in the south-east division (XIV.8, 32). There are references to the king of Kaliṅga in V.69 (*Kaliṅga-desā-nṛpati*), XI.54 (*Kaliṅgeśam*) and XIV.32 (*Kāliṅga*). It was known for its diamonds with a yellowish tinge (LXXIX.7). Kaliṅga lay between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī, though in the south it sometimes extended beyond the last mentioned river. In his 8th regnal year, Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga and annexed it to his empire.²³⁴ He issued two special Kaliṅga edicts addressed to the Mahāmātras at Dhauli (Tosali) in the Puri district and at Jaugada (Samāpā) in the Ganjam district.²³⁵ Ancient Kaliṅga thus comprised the districts of Puri and Ganjam. Khāravela, a king of Kaliṅga, had his capital at Kaliṅga-nagarī,²³⁶ usually identified with modern Kalingapatam at the mouth of Vamśadhārā or with Mukhalingam near Chicacole.²³⁷ Yuan Chwang distinguishes Kaliṅga from Wu-t'u or Orissa and Kung-yu-t'o or Kongodha in the Ganjam district,²³⁸ indicating that in his time Kaliṅga occupied a much smaller area forming parts of modern Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts.²³⁹

80. *Kalmāṣa* (V.69), a people. No details are given.

81. *Kāamboja* (V.35, 78, 80; XIII.9; XVI.1, 15), a country and the people of it in the south-west division (XVI.17). The king of *Kāamboja* is referred to in XI.57. On the strength of its association in literature with *Gandhāra* and the mention in the *Mahābhārata* (VII.4.5) of *Rājapura*, probably the same as Yuan Chwang's *Ho-lo-she-pu-lo* (*Rājapura*)²⁴⁰ or *Rajori* to the south of *Kashmir*,²⁴¹ in connection with the *Kāambojas*, some are inclined to believe that *Kāamboja* must be located in this region and that its western boundaries may have reached *Kafiristan*.²⁴² But the best criterion for the location of *Kāamboja* is provided by *Yāska* who tells us that the root *śava* 'to go' was in use only among the *Kāambojas* (*śavatir=gatikarmā Kāambojeṣu=eva bhāyate, Nirukta*, I.2.1.4). This peculiarity is still current in the *Galcha*-speaking areas of *Pamir* and *Badakhshan* which, therefore, must represent ancient *Kāamboja*.²⁴³ *Varāhamihira*, however, places it too much to the south.

82. *Kanaka* (XIV.21), a people in the western division. Kern associates it with the following name *Śaka* and translates as 'Gold-Scythians'. *Utpala* takes *Kanaka* to be a separate name and gives its nominative plural, indicating that he regarded them as a people. According to *Dey*, *Kanaka* denotes *Travancore*.²⁴⁴

83. *Kaṅka* (XIV.4), a people in *Madhyadeśa*.

84. *Kaṅkaṇa* (XIV.12), a people in the southern division.²⁴⁵

85. *Kaṅkaṭa* (XIV.12), a people in the southern division

86. *Kaṅthadhāna* (XIV.26), a people in the northern division.

87. *Kapila* (XIV.17), a people in the south-west division. *Kapila* is a variant reading in the *Matsya-purāṇa* list of peoples.²⁴⁶

88. *Kaṇapṛāveya* (v.l. *Kaṇapṛādeya*, *Kaṇapṛāvaraṇa*, XIV.18), a people in the south-west division. Kern observes that *Kaṇapṛāveya* is 'synonymous with *Kaṇapṛāvaraṇa* mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV.40.26)'. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (LVIII.31) misreads it as *Kaṇapṛādheya*.

89. *Kaṇāta* (XIV.13), *Kanarese* country and the people of it in the southern division.

90. *Karvaṭa* (XVI.12), a people in the eastern division (XIV.5).

91. *Kāśmīra* (V.77,78; IX.18; X.12), *Kāśmīraka* (V.70; XI.57), the people of *Kāśmīra* in the north-east division (XIV.29). Our author places it too much to the east.

92. *Kaubera* (LXXX.2, 6), a place or country celebrated for its pearl-fishery. We have no clue to its identification.

93. *Kerala* (XVI.11), the same as Cera mentioned above. The Keralakas or the people of the Kerala country are placed in the southern division (XIV.12). Fleet thinks that Keralaka is a mistake for Kairalaka or Kairāḷaka which is met with in the Allahabad pillar inscr. of Samudragupta.²⁴⁷ But the actual reading seems to be Kaurāḷaka, not Kairāḷaka.

94. *Keśadhara* (XIV.26), literally 'people keeping long hair', in the northern division.

95. *Khacara* (XIV.28), literally 'people moving in the sky', in the northern division. See *Diviṣṭha* above.

96. *Khaṇḍa* (XIV.18), a people in the south-west division.

97. *Khasa* (X.12; LXVIII.26), a people in the eastern (XIV.6) and north-east divisions (XIV.30). In XIV.30, Kern gives Khaśa. The country of the Khas(ś)as lay in adjacent hills on the south and west of Kashmir, extending from Kastvar in the south-east to the Jhelum in the west and including the hill-states of Rājapuri and Lohara. They are represented by modern Khakkas in Kashmir.²⁴⁸

98. *Khashtha* (XIV.22), literally 'people living in the heaven', in the north-west division. See *Diviṣṭha* above.

99. *Kīra* (XXXII.19), a people in the north-east division (XIV.29). Kīras are named in a number of epigraphic records.²⁴⁹ Their country comprised the territory near Baijnath in the Kangra valley. A Chamba copper plate inscr. mentions Kīras between Durgaras (Dongras) and Trigartas.²⁵⁰ Varāhamihira places them very much in the east.

100. *Kirāta* (V.35, 80; IX.35; XI.60; XVI.2; XXXII.22), a people in the south-west and north-east divisions (XIV.18, 30). We have references to the king of the Kirātas in IX.17 (*Kirāta-bharttuh*) and XI.54 (*Kirāta-pārthivam*). We know nothing about the Kirāta settlements in the south-west of India. Kirātas are a flat-nosed people, identical with the Cirrhadae living to the west of the mouth of the Gaṅgā mentioned in the *Periplus*,²⁵¹ and with the Kirrhadia of Ptolemy living near about Tipperah.²⁵² In the *Raghuvamśa* (IV.76), we find Raghu crossing the Himalayas, proceeding eastwards to the Brahmaputra valley, and then meeting the Kirātas.

The descendants of the Kirātas, still known by this name, are found living in the Morung, west of Sikkim.

101. *Kohala* (v.l. *Kośala*, XIV.27), a people in the northern division.

102. *Koṅkana* (XIV.12), a country in the southern division, comprised the entire strip of land between the Western Ghats (ancient Sahya) and the Arabian Sea with its capital at Śūrpāraka, modern Sopara near Bombay. Alberuni (I.203) refers to Tana as the capital.

103. *Kośala* (V.69; IX.26; X4, 13, 14; XVII.6; XVII.22), a country in the south-east division (XIV.8). *Kośalaka* (correctly *Kauśalaka*), or the people of *Kośala*, are placed in the eastern division (XIV.7). The people of *Kośala* are called *Kauśalaka* (V.70) as well as *Kausalaka* (X.9). The latter form is also met with in the Allahabad pillar inscr. of Samudra Gupta.²⁵³ *Kośala* in the south-east division roughly comprised the region of Chhattisgarh and a portion of Orissa to the east of it. Eastern *Kosalaka* or *Kausalaka* also appears to have comprised a portion of it. According to the *Vāyupurāṇa* (80.199-200), Lava and Kuśa, the two sons of Dāśarathi Rāma, divided their paternal kingdom of *Kośala* into two parts, the former ruling over Uttara-*Kośala* with Śrāvastī as capital, and the latter ruling over Dakṣiṇa-*Kośala* (or *Kośalā*) with Kuśasthalī amidst the hills of the Vindhya for its capital.²⁵⁴ The Allahabad pillar inscr. includes *Kosala* ruled over by Mahendra among the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha whose rulers were defeated but later reinstated by Samudra Gupta.²⁵⁵ *Kosala* (probably the Panna region in Bundelkhand) was celebrated for diamond-mining (LXXIX.6).

104. *Koṭivarṣa*. The king of *Koṭivarṣa* is mentioned in IX.11. It is probably the same as the *Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya* (roughly corresponding to Dinajpur district with Bānapura, modern Bangarh, as its chief town), in the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* (north Bengal), so frequently mentioned in the Damodarpur copper plate inscriptions.²⁵⁶ The Jaina *Prajñāpanā* locates *Koṭivarṣa* in Lāṭa or Lāḍhā, evidently an error for Rāḍhā.²⁵⁷

105. *Krauñcadvīpa* (X.18), a country or island in the southern division (XIV.13).

106. *Kravyāda* (XIV.18), literally 'eaters of raw flesh', a people in the south-west division.²⁵⁸

107. *Kṣemadhūrta* (XIV.28), a people in the northern division.

108. *Kṣudramīna* (XIV.24), a people in the northern division.

109 *Kucika* (XIV.30), a people in the north-east division.

110. *Kukura* (V.71; XXXII.22), a people and their country in Madhyadeśa (XIV.4).²⁵⁹ In the Junagadh inscr. of Rudradāman I, it is associated with Kaccha, Sindhu-Sauvīra and Aparānta,²⁶⁰ while the Nasik cave inscr. of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvi mentions it between Surāṣṭra and Aparānta.²⁶¹ Therefore, it is located near Ānarta in north Kathiawad. Our author's *Kukura*, which is placed in Madhyadeśa, seems to correspond to east Rajputana.

111. *Kulinda*, a country implied in Kaulinda (IV.24), the people of Kulinda the same as Kuṇinda, in the north-east division (XIV.30, 33).²⁶² Ptolemy mentions it as Kylandrine which, according to Mc Crindle, 'designated the region of lofty mountains wherein the Vipāśā, the Śatadrū, the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā had their sources.'²⁶³

112. *Kulūta* (X.12; XVII.18), partly in the north-west (XIV.22) and partly in the north-east (XIV.29) divisions, is the famous Kullu in the upper valley of the Beas. Yuan Chwang calls it Kiu-lu-to.²⁶⁴ The people of Kulūta are referred to as *Kulūtaka* (IV.22) and *Kaulūta* (X.11).

The find of eleven copper coins of the Kulūtas in the excavations at Taxila appears to indicate that originally they lived somewhere near Taxila in north-western Punjab (now Pakistan) and it was later during the time of Vīrayaśas that their major section migrated to the Kullu region of present Himachal Pradesh lending their name to it. It is likely that the Kulūtas of the north-western division mentioned by Varāhamihira were a section of the Kulūtas that continued to live at or near Taxila, while those of the North-East refer to the major section that moved to the Kullu region (See Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India [Circa 200 B.C. to 320 AD]*, Calcutta, 1974, p.228). That the Kulūtas were originally a people of north-western India is also made clear by some literary associations. Vide K.K. Das Gupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India: A Numismatic Approach*, Calcutta, 1974, p.75. Some South Indian inscriptions speak of the presence of the Kulūtas and their settlements nearabout Veṅgi and Utkala (*EI*, XVII, p.53; XXV, p.244) which may indicate that some sections of the people migrated to eastern India also. The *Vālmikiya Rāmāyaṇa* mentions the Kaulūtas (a variant of Kolūka) as living along with the Aṅgas and other eastern people which, as pointed

out by E.J. Rapson, must be looked for somewhere in Bengal. (*JRAS*, 1900, p.533). Sometimes they are regarded as foreigners (*ibid.*, p.538). Copper and silver (of Virayaśas alone) coins of some Kulūta chiefs assignable to a couple of centuries before and after Christ are known. For their account, see K.K. Dasgupta, *op.cit.*, pp.77 ff.

113. *Kuntala* (XVI.11) seems to have comprised the Kanarese districts of Bombay, Madras and Mysore States as also southern Mahārāshtra.²⁶⁵ According to Soḍḍhala's *Udayasundarikathā*, Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) on the Godāvarī was its capital.

114. *Kuntibhoja* (X.15) is the name of a people according to Utpala. The *Agni-purāṇa* (LV.12) speaks of Kunti as a country in Madhyadeśa. It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that the Aśvanadī, a tributary of the Chambal, flowed through the country of Kuntibhoja (Vanaparvan, 308.7, 22, 25).²⁶⁶ The name can be still recognised in Kontwar near Ashokanagar in the Guna district of Madhya Pradesh.

115. *Kuru* (V.38; IX.34; XXXII.11), a people and their country in Madhyadeśa (XIV.4). The people of the Kuru-land are spoken of as *Kaurava* (IV.24, 25; IX.30) and *Kurubhūmija* (XVI.31). Utpala takes Kurubhūmi to mean the region round Thaneshwar (*Kuru-bhūmijāḥ janāḥ Sthāneśvare nivasanti*). Alberuni (I.300), too, renders Kuru by 'Taneshar.' The Kurubhūmi, comprising the region within the triangle of Thaneshwar, Hissar and Meerut was divided into three parts. The Kuru proper occupied the region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā with Hastināpura near Meerut as their headquarters. The remaining two divisions, viz., Kurukṣetra (V.78; XI.57) and Kurujāṅgala (IX.29), are noticed by our author. Kurukṣetra lay between the Sarasvatī on the north and the Dṛṣadvatī on the south (cf. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan, 83.204-5: *Dakṣiṇena Sarasvatyā uttareṇa Dṛṣadvatīm ye vasanti Kurukṣetre te vasanti triviṣṭapell*)²⁶⁷ with Thaneshwar for its centre. Manu (II.17) calls it by the name Brahmāvarta and speaks of it as the holiest land inhabited by the Āryans. Kurujāṅgala probably covered the region between the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā (between the Kāmyaka forest and Khāṇḍava).²⁶⁸ We have references to the people (*Kurukṣetraka*, V.78) and king (*Kurukṣetr-ādhipa*, XI.57) of Kurukṣetra. These divisions evidently belong to southern Kuru realm. The Uttar-kurus, who are assigned to the northern division (XIV.24), lived beyond the Himavat range (*Pareṇa Himavantam*, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII.14), probably in the land of Kashmir. They are the same as Ottorokorrha of Ptolemy.²⁶⁹ Kern translates *Uttarāḥ Kuravaḥ* by 'the Hyperboreans', a western repetition

of the Uttarakuru of Kaśmir. While in earlier literature they were a real people, the later literature represents the land of the Uttara-Kurus as an earthly paradise.

116. *Laṅkā* (XIV.11) in the southern division is usually regarded as identical with the island of Ceylon. But Varāhamihira seems to distinguish it from Simhala (Ceylon) which is also placed in the southern division (XIV.15). Therefore, as pointed out by Fleet, *Laṅkā* seems to denote here 'not the island of Ceylon, but its capital city, which it was perhaps thought necessary to mention separately, because it provides the Hindu prime meridian'.²⁷⁰ Alberuni (I.301) renders *Laṅkā* as 'the cupola of the earth.'

117. *Lāṭa* (LXVIII.11) comprised the central and southern Gujarat between the rivers Mahi and Tapi. It is probably the same with Ptolemy's Larike (probably a formation from Lār, Lāṭa), which lay to the east of Indo-Scythia along the sea-coast and included the cities of Broach and Ujjain,²⁷¹ and with Alberuni's Lārdesh whose two capitals, viz., Bihraj and Rihanjur, are said to have been on the sea-coast to the east of Tana.²⁷²

118. *Madra* (IV.22; V.40; X.4; XVII.18; XXXII.19), a people and their country in the north-west (XIV.22). The *Mahābhārata* (Karnaparvan, Chs.44-5) speaks of Madra as a part of the Vāhika country. It covered the extensive territory between the Ravi²⁷³ and the Jhelum. The region between the Ravi and Chenab constituted its eastern wing with Sialkot as the capital; the West Madra extended from the Chenab in the east to the Jhelum in the West. We have a reference to the ruler of Madra in XI.59 (*Maadraka-pati*). The Madrakas of the northern division (XIV.27,33) are evidently the same as the Uttara-Madras who lived beyond the Himavat range, probably in Kashmir.²⁷⁴

119. *Magadha* (IV.22, 26; V.69, 79; X.14; XVI.1; XXXII.11), in the eastern division (XIV.6), originally comprised the districts of Patna and Gaya in Bihar. It was considered to be the chief country of the eastern division (XIV.32). It is difficult to say whether the word *Māgadhā* (X.10) denotes an inhabitant of Magadha or a bard. We have several allusions to the king of Magadha (*Magadh-eśa*, X.16; *Magadh-ādhipa*, XI.55; *Māgadhiha*, XIV.32). Its older name Kikaṭa occurs in the *Rgveda* (III.53.14) and Magadha as such is first mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (V.22.14).

120. *Mahāgṛīva* (XIV.9), literally 'people with great neck', in the south-east division.

121. *Mahārāṣṭra* (X.8). Varāhamihira mentions the nominative plural form of Mahārāṣṭra (*Mahārāṣṭrāḥ*) which probably refers to the territorial divisions constituting it. The famous Aihole-Meguti inscr. states that by his conquests Pulakeśin II made himself lord of the three Māhārāṣṭrakas comprising ninety-nine thousand villages.²⁷⁵ The three Mahārāṣṭra countries seem to refer to Koṅkaṇa, southern Maratha country and Vidarbha and a part of Karnataka.

122. *Mahiṣa* (IX.10), a country the people of which are referred to as Mahiṣaka (XVII.26). R.G. Bhandarkar placed the Mahiṣaka country on the Narmadā with Māhiṣmatī for its capital.²⁷⁶ Rice identifies Mahiṣa or Mahiṣa-maṇḍala with South Mysore with Mysore as the principal town.²⁷⁷ The Hebbata grant of Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman I shows that the present Tumkur area in Mysore was called Mahiṣaviṣaya in the first century AD.²⁷⁸ From certain coins found at Kondapur and Maski, V.V. Mirashi has tried to show that a dynasty called Mahiṣa ruled over the southern portions of the Hyderabad State about the second or third century AD.²⁷⁹ Thus Mahiṣa seems to have included, besides Mysore, the districts of Kondapur and Maski in southern Hyderabad.

The Guntupalli (West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions of the Mahāmeghaṇahana Mahārāja Sada describe him as 'lord of Kaliṅga and Māhiṣaka' (*Kaliṅga-Mahisak-ādhipati*) which indicates the contiguity of the two regions which was not known earlier. See D.C. Sircar, "Some Epigraphic and Manuscript Records", *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, III, pp.30-36.

123. *Mālava* (IV.24; XVI.25; XXXII.19; LXVIII.11), a people and their country in the northern division (XIV.27). Fleet observes, 'Varāhamihira places them too much to the north, as they are undoubtedly the people of Malwa, from whom...the Vikrama era derived its origin.'²⁸⁰ There is, however, nothing to show that only the present Malwa was so called in the sixth century AD. In all likelihood, Varāhamihira refers here to a northern settlement of the Mālavas (the Malloi of classical writers) who lived between the lower Ravi and the Chenab in the fourth century BC.²⁸¹ About the beginning of the first century BC, they migrated to Rajputana, where they are found in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the first century AD, they came into conflict with the Uttamabhadras of the Ajmer region who were supported by Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of the Kṣaharāta ruler

Nahapāna.²⁸² A large number of Mālava coins bearing the legend *jaya Mālavānām* or *Mālavānām jayaḥ* (1st century B.C. onwards) have been found at Nagar and adjoining region in the former Jaipur State. The presence of the Mālavas in this region down to the fourth century AD is evidenced by Samudra Gupta's Prayāga *praśasti* which groups them with such northern tribes as the Ārjunāyanas, Madrakas and the Yaudheyas.²⁸³

The description of the physical features of the Malloi (Mālavas) by the classical writers ("they were of great stature and were among the tallest men in Asia. Their complexion was black, but they were very simple in their habits". See McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p.85) compares well with that of the Mālavya, one of the five Great Men, found in the *BS* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (III.85) which agree closely.

According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, he is dark like the *mudga* pulse (kidney bean) with a body very beautiful on account of the slender waist with arms reaching up to the knees, with broad shoulders, broad jaws and nose like that of an elephant, and measures 104 *āṅgulas* in height. The description of the nose as resembling that of an elephant looks strange and there appears some confusion and in place of the 'nose' arms seem to be intended as in the *BS*. Cf. K.K. Das Gupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India: A Numismatic Approach*, p.138. The Mālavya type was, thus, closely connected with the *Mālavas*.

124. *Malla* (V.38, 41). Utpala explains the word '*malla*' by '*bāhuyuddhajña*', i.e. wrestlers or boxers. But as in V.38, it is preceded by Pahlava and followed by Matsya, Kuru, Śaka, etc., and in V.41 it follows Videha and precedes Pāñcāla, it is more reasonable to take it to denote the people of that name. In Buddha's time, the Mallas are known to have occupied the region about Pāva (Padarauna, 12 miles north-north-east of Kasia) and Kuśīnārā (Kasia in Gorakhpur district, Uttar Pradesh). They had nothing to do with the Malloi of the Panjab.

125. *Māṇahala* (XIV.27), a people in the northern division.

126. *Māṇḍavya*, a people placed in Madhyadeśa (XIV.2), in the north-west and northern divisions (XIV.22, 27).²⁸⁴

127. *Mantriṣika* (XVI.11), a people not assigned to any division (*v.l.* Mamtriṣikha, Matriṣika, Māhiṣaka, Pārasika, Māmyūṣika).

128. *Mārgara* (XIV.18), a people in the south-west division.

129. *Mārttikāvata* (XVI.25). Utpala regards it as the name of a country. This name was probably derived from the town *Mṛttikāvatapura* which is the same as *Mṛttikāvarapura* mentioned in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (IV.13.7). We are told in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* that on account of living in this town the Bhojas came to be known as *Mārttikāvata* which appears to be a mistake for our *Mārttikāvata*. Dey proposes to identify the town with ancient *Sālvapura*, modern *Alwar*, or with *Merta* in *Marwar*, 36 miles north-west of *Ajmer*. Thus, according to him, the country comprised parts of the former *Jodhpur*, *Jaipur* and *Alwar States*.²⁸⁵ But as the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* associates *Mṛttikāvatapura* with the Bhojas, its identification with the country of the Bhojas by the side of the *Parṇasā* (*Banas*) in *Malwa*, as proposed by *Wilson*, seems to be more probable.

130. *Maru* (XVI.37), in *Madhyadeśa* (XIV.2), corresponds to *Marwar* in *Rajputana*. Our author refers to people born or articles grown in *Marwar* (*Marubhava*, V.68). In IV.22, we have the compound *Nepāla-Bhr̥ṅgi-Marukacca-Surāstra-Madrān*. While commenting on this verse, Utpala simply repeats the compound adding the words *etān janān*. It cannot be determined whether *Marukacca* is to be taken as one word or to be split up into *Maru* and *Kacca*. *Kern* proposes to replace *Marukacca* by *Marukucca* which is the name of an ancient people in modern *Kafiristan* or thereabouts.²⁸⁶

131. *Marukacchapa* (V.40) is the name of a people, according to Utpala.

132. *Marukucca* (v.l. *Marukacca*, *Marukucca*, *Murūku*, *Bharukacca*, *Marūhaturukaca*, *Nuruka*, *Marukastha*, *Purukutsa*, *Gurukutsa* and *Paramucca*, XIV.23), a people in the north-west division. See *Maru* above.

133. *Matsya* (V.37, 38; XVII.22; XXXII.11), a country and the people of it, in *Madhyadeśa* (XIV.2). Half the rural nation of the *Matsyas* (*Matsyārdha-grāmarāṣṭrāṇi*) is referred to in XVI.21. There is a reference to the lord of *Matsya* (*Matsyādhipa*, IV.24). *Matsya* comprised parts of *Jaipur* and *Bharatpur* and had *Virāṭanagara*, modern *Bairat* in *Jaipur*, for its capital. Some include even *Alwar* region in *Matsya*; but it seems to have formed part of *Sālva*.²⁸⁷

134. *Mleccha* (V.79; IX.13; XVI.11, 34; XVII.14, 16, 20), a people styled as lawless in the western division (*Nirmalyādā Mlecchā ye paścima-dik-sthitās=te ca*, XIV.21). The *Agnipurāṇa* (LV.17, 19) also assigns the *Mlecchas* to the west and

north Bhāratavarṣa. Kern renders it by 'barbarians' or 'foreigners'. In II.15, Yavanas (Greeks) are spoken of as Mleccha (*Mlecchā hi Yavanāḥ*). Varāhamihira probably refers to the Yavanas so frequently mentioned in inscriptions in western Indian caves. In Alberuni's time, it was used to denote the Arabs (I.302).

135. *Nagna-śabara* (XIV.10), 'nude Śabaras', a people in the south-east division. The text gives *Nagna-parṇa-śabaraiḥ*. According to Utpala, the word Śabara is connected with both *nagna* and *parṇa*. Thus he takes *Nagna-śabaras* and *Parṇa-śabaras* to be two different peoples. See Śabara below.

136. *Nālikera-dvīpa* (XIV.9), literally 'the island of coco-nuts', some region in the south-east division. According to the *Kathā-saritsāgara*, it is a big island.²⁸⁸

137. *Nārimukha* (XIV.17), literally 'a people with feminine faces', in the south-west division.

138. *Naṣṭa-rājya* (XIV.29), literally 'kingdom of the dead', in the north-east division. The text gives *Meruka-naṣṭarājya* which Utpala splits into *Meruka* and *Naṣṭarājya*. There is nothing to support Fleet's conjecture that the original reading was *Meru-kanishkarājya*.²⁸⁹

139. *Nepāla* (IV.22; V.65), Nepal.²⁹⁰

140. *Nīpa* (XIV.2), a people in Madhyadeśa.²⁹¹

141. *Niṣāda-rāṣṭra* (XIV.10), the country of the Niṣādas, an aboriginal people, in the south-east division. A corporation of the Niṣādas (*Niṣāda-saṅgha*) is mentioned in V.76.²⁹² Commenting on the last verse, Utpala takes *Niṣāda* in the sense of a hunter (*Niṣādānām prāṇighātakānām saṅghaḥ*). The celebrated Vedic commentator Mahīdhara understands *Niṣāda* as meaning a Bhil.²⁹³ The *Mahābhārata* (III.130.4) mentions *Vinaśana* or the place of the disappearance of the *Sarasvati* as the gate of *Niṣādarāṣṭra* (*dvāraṁ Niṣādarāṣṭrasya*). It places a *Niṣāda* settlement (*Niṣādabhūmi*) between *Matsya* and the *Chambal* (II.31.4-7). A *Niṣāda* named *Kāyavya* is described there as *Pāriyātracara* (XII.135.5). Thus in the Epic period, the *Niṣādas* were settled among the hilly regions that form the western boundary of *Malwa* and *Khandesh* in the range of the *Vindhya* and *Satpura*. The earliest epigraphic reference to a tribal state of the *Niṣādas*²⁹⁴ occurs in the *Junagadh* inscr. (AD 150), where it is said to have been included in the dominions of *Rudradāman I*.²⁹⁵

142. *Pahlava* (V.38; XVI.37; XVIII.6), the Parthians in the south-west division (XIV.17). As the Pahlavas are assigned to the same division as Kāmboja and Sindhu-Sauvīra, Parthian settlements in the north-west of India seem to be intended. Parthians were an Iranian people who are known to have occupied parts of north-western India in a few centuries before and after Christ. The presence of sporadic Parthian settlements in western India is rendered probable by some inscriptional references.²⁹⁶

143. *Pāñcala* (IV.22; V.35, 38, 41; IX.29; X.4, 13), the inhabitants of Pañcāla in Madhyadeśa (XIV.3). The king of Pañcāla called Pāñcāla is spoken of as the chief king of Madhyadeśa (XIV.32). Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himalayas to the river Chambal. The Gaṅgā divided it into Uttara (North) and Dakṣiṇa (South) Pañcāla with Ahicchatrā or Chatravatī (present Ramnagar in the Bareilly district) and Kāmpilya (Kampil in Farrukhabad) as their respective capitals.

144. *Pañcanada*, literally 'the country of the five rivers', the Panjab, in the western division (XIV.21). The people and the ruler of Pañcanada are called *Pāñcanada* (X.6; XI.60).

145. *Pāṇḍuguda* (XIV.3), a people in Madhyadeśa. Alberuni (I.300) splits it up into Pāṇḍu and Guḍa, the latter being the same as Thaneshwar. So do Kern and Fleet. But Utpala takes it to be one word. Even if Pāṇḍu and Guḍa are intended, the Pāṇḍu-varṇsa to which Indrabala, Nannadeva and Tivararāja belonged, according to the Rajim grant,²⁹⁷ has nothing to do with our Pāṇḍus who are allotted to Madhyadeśa.

146. *Pāṇḍya*. The Pāṇḍya country comprised the districts of Tinnevely and Madura in Tamilnadu. Varāhamihira refers to the Pāṇḍya ruler as *Pāṇḍya-nareśvara* (IV.10), *Pāṇḍya-nātha* (VI.8) and *Pāṇḍya-nṛpa* (XI.56). Pāṇḍyas were a very ancient people and are mentioned by Megasthenes,²⁹⁸ Ptolemy²⁹⁹ and the author of the *Periplus* (frag.54, 59). Our author refers to Uttara (North)-Pāṇḍya (XVI.10), indicating that the Pāṇḍya country was divided into two parts, North and South. The mention of the Pāṇḍyas (*Pāḍā*) in nominative plural in Aśoka's R.E.II, may indicate, as suggested by D.R. Bhandarkar, that there were two Pāṇḍya kingdoms even in Aśoka's time. Bhandarkar thinks that North Pāṇḍya comprised the tract now occupied by the Mysore State³⁰⁰ (Mysore region of Karnataka).

147. *Pāraśava* (XIV.18), a country and its people in the south-west division. It is Persia celebrated for its pearls (LXXX,2,5).

148. *Pārata* (X.7; XIII.9; XVI.4, 12, 21), a people in the western division (XIV.21). In X.5, we come across the compound *Pārataramaṭhāḥ* which Utpala splits into *Pāratara* and *Maṭha*. A better division would be *Pārata* and *Ramaṭha*. *Pārata* is also mentioned in the Buddhist work *Mahāmāyūrī*. As already pointed out by Fleet and Lévi, *Pāratas* are probably the same as the *Pāradas*,³⁰¹ whom the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV.44.13) places in the trans-Indus region. Lassen identifies them with Ptolemy's *Pardene* in the centre of *Gedrosia* (Baluchistan).³⁰²

After a careful analysis of all the extant evidence B.N. Mukherjee concludes that the *Pāratas* were originally an offshoot of the Median people. They or a section thereof ultimately migrated to the Indian sub-continent after living in parts of North-Western Persia, central zone of western Persia, Transoxiana, a territory in the upper borderlands between Persia and Afghanistan, Seistan, etc. In c. first century BC they were settled in North-Western India and its borderlands to the south of the Hindukush. Later in the third century AD and after we find them in the Jhelum district. *Vide The Paradas*, Chs. I and III.

149. *Parṇa-śabara*³⁰³ (XIV.10), literally 'the Śabaras subsisting on or clad in leaves', a people in the south-east division. Kern thinks that they are Ptolemy's *Phyllitai*³⁰⁴ who "occupied the banks of the Tapti lower down than the Rhamnai, and extended northward to the Satpura range".³⁰⁵ According to Yule, however, *Phyllitai* may represent the *Pulindas*.³⁰⁶ The *Parṇaśabaras* may be identical with the hill-tribe of the *Sawaras* living in the hilly region adjoining the Bastar State who still dress themselves in leaves.

150. *Paśupāla* (XIV.29), literally 'tenders of animals', probably a nomadic people in the north-east division.

151. *Paṭola*, (*v.l.* *Palola*, XIV.30,) a region in the north-east division. Kern gives *Palola* which, according to him, must be a vulgar pronunciation for the Skr. *Palvala*, 'swamp, marsh'. He further suggests that by *Palola* is meant the eastern part of the Tarai near Cooch-Bihar.³⁰⁷

152. *Paurava* (XVI.21; XXXII.19), a people allotted to the northern and north-east divisions (XIV.23, 31). The *Pauravas* or *Purus* lived on the eastern bank of the Jhelum including the Gujarat district. In the fourth century BC, when

Alexander invaded India, Porus, probably a Puru chief, was ruling over the region between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab.

153. *Phañikāra* (XIV.12), a people in the southern division.

154. *Piśika* (XIV.14), a people in the southern division.

155. *Prāgiyotiṣa* (XVI.1), in the eastern division (XIV.6), comprised the region round Gauhati. In the *Harṣacarita* (VII), *Kumāra* Bhāskaravarman of Assam is styled as *Prāgiyotiṣeśvara*. It was also the name of a city, probably identical with modern Gauhati.³⁰⁸ According to the *Raghuvamśa* (IV.81), *Prāgiyotiṣa* lay on the other bank of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. In the Bargaon grant of Ratnapāla also *Prāgiyotiṣa* is described as beautified by the Lauhitya.³⁰⁹ Hemacandra regards *Prāgiyotiṣa* and *Kāmarūpa* as synonymous.³¹⁰

156. *Prasthala* (XIV.25), according to Pargiter, denotes the district between Ferozepur, Patiala and Sirsa.³¹¹ B.C. Law³¹² suggests to identify it with Patala, the capital of the little state of Patalene in the Indus delta mentioned by the Greeks.

Jagannath Agrawal's suggestion locating the Prasthalas in that part of Trigarta which now forms the district of Kangra in Himachal Pradesh (*Purāṇam*, VIII, No.2, pp. 310-14) appears more probable.

157. *Pulindas* (IV.22: V.39, 77, 78; IX.17, 29, 40; XVI.2, 32) are an aboriginal people. Their tribal organization (*gaṇa*) is mentioned in V.39. According to Pargiter, there were three main branches of Pulindas, i.e. western, Himalayan, and southern.³¹³ Our author associates the tribe with Avanti, Śābaras, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Draviḍas and the Maikal range (IX.17, 29, 40; XVI.2, 32; V.39), showing that their southern settlements in the Vindhya regions are intended. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII.18) and in Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka, they are associated with the Andhras. Kālidāsa (*Raghuvamśa*, XVI. 19, 32) places them in the Vindhya region. In the Navagrāma grant of the *Parivṛājaka Mahārāja* Hastin reference is made to a *Pulinda-rāja-rāṣṭra* lying in the Parivṛājaka dominion, viz., Ḍabhāla-maṇḍala in the northern part of the Central Provinces.³¹⁴ According to some, Ptolemy's Phyllitai occupying the banks of the Tāpti and extending northward to the Satpura range represent the Pulindas.³¹⁵

158. *Puṇḍra* (V.70; IX.15; X.14; XI.27; XVI.3) or *Paṇḍra* (V.74, 80; XIV.7), a people and their country in the eastern division. The lord of the Puṇḍras is referred to in XI.58 (*Puṇḍr-ādhipati*). Puṇḍra corresponds to north Bengal with

Puṇḍravardhana or Puṇḍranagara as its capital. The Mahasthan stone plaque inscr. places the identification of Puṇḍranagara with Mahasthan in the Bogra district beyond doubt.³¹⁶

159. *Purika* (XIV.10), in the south-east division, appears to be intended for Purikā, which, according to the *Harivamśa* (Viṣṇuparvan, 38.21-2), was situated at the foot of the mountain Ṛkṣavat (Satpura). Fleet locates it on an open area on the south of the island-village of Onkar Mandhata, where the map shows the villages called Godurpoora, Bainpoora, Baintanpoora and Dhooka.³¹⁷

160. *Pūruṣāda* (IV.22) or *Puruṣāḍa* (XIV.6), 'cannibals', in the eastern division. Kern observes, 'The cannibals being always placed in the far east must denote either the inhabitants of the Andamans and Nicobars, or the cannibal tribes of the Indian Archipelago, or both.'³¹⁸

161. *Rājanya* (XIV.28), a people in the northern division. The Rājanyas appear to be the same as the Kṣatriyas or Xathroi of the Greek writers.³¹⁹ The Hoshiarpur region where coins of the Rājanya-janapada are found in abundance³²⁰ was evidently their homeland. Later, they migrated to Mathura which has also yielded a large number of their coins.

162. *Ramaṭha* (X.5; XVI.20), a people in the western division (XIV.21). S. Lévi³²¹ places the Ramathas between Ghazni and Wakhan.

163. *Romaka* (XVI.6), It is translated by Kern as 'Romans'. According to some, 'the Romakas may be the people of Ruma lying probably near the Salt Range.'³²²

164. *Ṛṣabha* (XIV.15), a people in the southern division.

165. *Ṛṣika* (XIV.15), a people in the southern division. In the epic literature, the Ṛṣikas are grouped with Vidarbha, Mahiṣaka, Aśmaka and Anūpa.³²³ The Ṛṣika country was, thus, contiguous to Vidarbha, Aśmaka (Aurangabad region) and Anūpa (region round Māhiṣmatī). Mirashi thinks that Ṛṣika was the ancient name of Khandesh.³²⁴ According to others, the Ṛṣikas are the same as the Asikas of the Hathigumpha inscr. of Khāravela whose country 'possibly lay between the Krishna and the Godavari, and to the south of Aśmaka'.³²⁵ But, as we have seen above, Varāhamihira draws a distinction between the Asikas and the Ṛṣikas.³²⁶

166. *Śabara* (V.38; IX.15; X.18; XVI.1), an aboriginal people often associated with the Pulindas (IX.29; XVI.32) and Draviḍas (XXXII.15). 'A band of the

Śabaras, hunters and thieves' is referred to in LXXXVI.10 (*Śabara-vyādha-cora saṅgha*). In the Purāṇas, the Śabaras are described as the inhabitants of Dakṣiṇāpatha.³²⁷ They are identified by Cunningham with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarai of Ptolemy, and are represented by Savaris or Saharias of the Gwalior territory occupying the forests on the Kota frontier to the westward of Narwar and Guna and by the Rajputana Surrias along the course of the Chambal and its branches. In the south they extend as far as the Pennar river while in the north they are found in large numbers to the south-west of Gwalior and Narwar and in the southern Rajputana. The Sorae Nomades of Ptolemy are the Śabaras of Central India 'who occupy the wild hilly country about the courses of the Wainganga, and who are also found along the valley of the Kistna river.'³²⁸ A Śabara king named Udayana is mentioned in a grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla.³²⁹

167. *Śaka* (V.38, 75; IX.21; XIII.9; XVI.1; XVII.26; XVIII.6). The Śakas are assigned to the western division (XIV.21). In XIV.21, Kanakaśaka is taken as one word by Kern who translates it by 'gold-Scythians'.³³⁰ The *Agni-purāṇa* (LV.16) locates the Śakas in the south-west of India. Apart from the Scythian rulers of north-western India, Śaka Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas of the lineages of Bhūmaka and Caṣṭana are known to have ruled over western India in the early centuries of the Christian era. Śakas are mentioned in a large number of inscriptions found in western Indian caves, and in the Allahabad pillar inscr. they are said to have paid homage to Samudra Gupta. Thus Śaka rule appears to have continued in the north-west down to the fourth century AD. In western India, the Śakas were supplanted by Candragupta II Vikramāditya in the last decade of the fourth or early in the fifth century AD.

168. *Sālva* (*v.l.* Śālva, V.76; XVI.20; XVII.13, 18), a country, and the people of it, in Madhyadeśa (XIV.2). In literature, Sālva is associated with Matsya.³³¹ Therefore, these two geographical divisions must be contiguous. Sālva comprised the territory extending from Alwar to north Bikaner³³² with Sālvapura, probably modern Alwar, as its principal city.

169. *Samatāṭa* (XIV.6), a country in the eastern division. The earliest epigraphic reference to Samatāṭa is to be found in Samudra Gupta's Allahabad *praśasti* where it is associated with Ḍavāka (Nogong district of Assam) and Kāmarūpa (Assam).³³³ According to Cunningham, Samatāṭa corresponded to the

whole of the Delta or the triangular tract between the Bhāgīrathī river and the main stream of the Gaṅgā.³³⁴ In the time of the Khadga rulers, Karmmānta (modern Kamta near Comila) was the capital of Samataṭa.³³⁵ The inclusion in Samatata of the region round Comilla is proved by the Baghaura inscr. of Mahīpāladeva which mentions Bilakinda (the village of Bilkendui near Baghaura in Comilla district) as a village situated in Samataṭa.³³⁶ We find the kings of Karmmānta granting land at Asrafpur in the Narayanganj subdivision of the Dhaka district Bangladesh. The kingdom of Samataṭa thus seems to have comprised the districts of Tipperah, Noakhali, Barisal, Faridpur and the eastern half of the district of Dhaka, Bangladesh.³³⁷

170. *San̥khyāta* (XIV.2), a people in Madhyadeśa.

171. *Śāntika* (XIV.20), a people in the western division.³³⁸

172. *Śaradhāna* (XIV.26), a people in the northern division.

173. *Saurikīrṇa* (XIV.11), a people in the southern division. Kern³³⁹ and, following him, Fleet³⁴⁰ take Sauri and Kīrṇa to be two separate words. But Utpala regards it as one word. According to Kern, Sauris are the Sorae or Colas of Ptolemy.³⁴¹

174. *Śibi* (v.l. Śivi, IV.24; V.67; XI.59; XVI.25; XVII.19), the Siboi of Alexander's historians, are probably the same as the Śivas of the *R̥gveda* (VII.18.7). Varāhamihira locates Śibika, a pleonastic form of Śibi, in the southern division (XIV.12). The Śibis are known to have changed their settlements from time to time. Śivas, who are mentioned in the *R̥gveda* along with the Alinas, Pakhtas, Bhalānasas and Viśāṇins as defeated by king Sudās, lived on or about the Indus.³⁴² The Jātakas know of two Śibi settlements³⁴³ having their caityas at Ariṭṭhapura (Ariṣṭapura), probably identical with Ptolemy's Aristobothra to the north of the Panjab,³⁴⁴ and at Jetuttara, Jattaraur of Alberuni (I.202), modern Nagari, 11 miles north of Chittor.³⁴⁵ The town of Śibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscr. has been identified with Shorkot in the Jhung district of the Panjab.³⁴⁶ The Siboi of Alexander's historians are to be located in this region.³⁴⁷ The presence of a Śibi settlement in the Swat valley is rendered probable by the location of the scene of the *Śibi-jātaka* there by Fa-hien.³⁴⁸ None of these settlements satisfies its location in the south. Our author seems to have intended the Śivis on the banks of the Kāverī mentioned in the *Daśakumāracarita* (VI).

The Śibis of the Panjab also appear to have been known to Varahāmihira, for he associates them with Mālavas, Taxila (XVI.26), Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas (XVII.19). In the *Mahābhārata* they are associated with the Trigartas and Mālavas as conquered by Nakula and as paying tribute to Yūḍhiṣṭhira (Sabhā, 32.7; 52.11).

175. *Simhala* (XI.60), allotted to the southern division (XIV.15), is Ceylon. Ceylonese pearls were highly valued (LXXX.2, 3).

176. *Sindhu* (IV.23; XVIII.6) is called a *viṣaya* in LXVIII.11. It is often mentioned in association with and before Sauvira (*Sindhu-Sauvira*, IX.19; X.6; XIV.17, 33). It is usually identified with Sindh-Sagar Doab, the region between the Jhelum and the Indus.³⁴⁹ But Yaśodhara, the commentator of the *Kāmasūtra*, clearly states that Sindhudeśa lay to the west of the Indus.³⁵⁰ Yuan-Chwang's Sin-tu was also situated on the west side of the Indus.³⁵¹ The inhabitants of Sindhu-viṣaya are called *Saindhava* (V.71). Utpala takes Sindhu-Sauvira to be one name and in all likelihood it formed one geographical division. In the Junagadh inscr. of Rudradāman I also Sindhu-Sauvira are mentioned together. Varāhamihira locates Sindhu-Sauvira in the south-west (XIV.17,33). According to some, Sauvira comprised only southern Sindh and Sindhu and Sauvira together correspond to modern Sind.³⁵² But this view is opposed to the clear statement of Alberuni (I.302) that Sauvira denoted Multan and Jahravar, thus making Sauvira extend as far north as Multan. The forms Sindhu-Sauvira (IX.19), Sauvira (IV.23) and Suvira (V.79) also occur.

177. *Śitaka* (XIV.27), a people in the northern division.

178. *Śmaśrudhara* (XIV.9), literally 'bearers of beards', a people in the south-east division.

179. *Strirājya* (XVI.6), a 'kingdom of women', in the north-west division (XIV.22). Yuan Chwang knows an amazonian kingdom in the Himalayan valley of the Sutlej. Dey states that it was 'a country in the Himalaya immediately on the north of Brahmapura, which has been identified with Garwal and Kumaun'.³⁵³ Atkinson informs us that a woman named Pinchiu ruled over the Nu-wang tribe in eastern Tibet, and the people in each successive reign chose a woman for their sovereign.³⁵⁴ Vātsyāyana (II.5.27) also mentions Strirājya, which Yaśodhara places to the west of Vaṅga (*Vaṅgadeśāt paścimena Strirājyam*). The *Agni-purāṇa* (LV.17) mentions it as a country in the west of India.

180. *Śūdra* (IX.40; XVI.31), a people in the south-west division (XIV.18). In the *Mahābhārata* (II.32.10; IX.37.1), the Śūdras are associated with the Ābhīras and are located in west Rajputana near Vinaśana. Alexander's historians call them Sodrai who lived between the Indus and the Sutlej above the junction of the five rivers near Mithankot and south of the district of Multan. They had their capital on the Indus.³⁵⁵

181. *Suhma* (V.37; XVI.1) a people and their country in the eastern division (XIV.5). Nilakaṇṭha, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, identifies it with Rāḍha to the west of the Gaṅgā.³⁵⁶ Kālidāsa, too, places Suhma to the west of Vaṅga which lay to the east of the Gaṅgā.³⁵⁷ According to Daṇḍin (*Daśakumāracarita* IV), Dāmalīpti or Tāmralīpti, modern Tamluk in the Midnapur district, was included in the Suhma country.

182. *Śūlika* (IX.15,³⁵⁸ 21; X.7; XVI.34), a people in the north-west division (XIV.23). Śūlikas are also called Cūlikas in the Purāṇas. According to the *Matsya-purāṇa*, the country of the Śūlikas is watered by the river Cakṣu (Oxus). Gauthiot identifies them with Sogdians living to the north of the Oxus, and P.C. Bagchi connects the Śūlikas (Sogdians) with the Prakrit called Cūlikā Paisācī and with the Cālukyas of the Deccan.³⁵⁹ A branch of the Śūlikas probably migrated to Orissa and in the Haraha inscr. of Maukhari Iśānavaraman they are mentioned after Andhra and before Gauḍa.³⁶⁰ They are to be identified with Śulkis of Orissa and are probably the same as the Śāulikas, a people in the south-east division (XIV.8), mentioned by our author.³⁶¹

183. *Śūrasena* (*v.l.* Sūrasena, V.35, 69; IX.17; XI.54; XVII.13, 22; LXVIII.26), a people in Madhyadesa (XIV.3). The pleonastic form of Śūrasena is met with in IX.11. The Śūrasenas lived in the region round Mathurā. The classical writers refer to them as Saurasenoī and their towns Mathurā (Methora) and Kṛṣṇapura (Cleisobora).

184. *Surastra* (IV.22; V.79; X.6; XXXII.19; LXVIII.11), a country in the south-west division (XIV.19), corresponds to the Kathiawad peninsula. The derivatives *Saurastrika* (V.68; XXXII.11) and *Saurastra* (IX.19; XVI.17, 31) are also met with.³⁶² The name still survives in the modern Surat.

185. *Śūrpakarna* (XIV.5), literally 'people having ears like winnowing baskets', in the eastern division.

186. *Suvarṇabhū* (XIV.31), a country allotted to the north-east division, is sometimes identified with Ptolemy's Golden Khersonese or the delta of the Irawadi forming the province of Pegu. But it should be taken in a much wider sense including also Malaysia and the islands of eastern Archipelago³⁶³.

186a. *Suvīra*, a country the people of which, also called *Suvīra* (V.79), *Sauvīra* (XVI.21) and *Sauvīraka* (IV.23), are generally associated with *Sindhu* which is often prefixed to it. S.M. Ali identifies it with the Rohri-Khairpur region of Sind (*Geography of the Purāṇas*, Delhi, 1966, p.144). For details, see *Sindhu* above.

187. *Śvamukha* (XIV.25), 'a people with dog-like faces', in the northern division.

188. *Śveta* (XVI.38). See *Hūṇas* above.

189. *Śyāmāka* (XIV.28), a people in the northern division. Lévi identifies it with Chö-mī of Sungyun, Pei-che and T'ang-chou and with Chang-mi of Yuan Chwang which Chavannes and Vivien de Saint Martin have identified with Chitral.³⁶⁴

189(a). *Tāla* (XIV.22), a people in the north-west division.

190. *Taṅgaṇa* (IX.17; X.12; XVI.6; XVII.25; XXXII.15), a people in the north-east division (XIV.29), are Ptolemy's Tanganoi whose territory stretched from the Ramganga river to the upper Sarayū. They were one of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting various regions. The Tank or Tonk Rajputs of Rohilkhand and the Dangayas spread over the entire length of the Vindhya mountains and the adjacent territory from the southern borders of the ancient Magadha to the heart of Malwa to the north of the lower Narmadā 'are the present representatives of the Tanganas.'³⁶⁵

191. *Tārakṣiti* (XIV.21), a country or place in the western division.

192. *Taskara*³⁶⁶ (XVI.4), according to Utpala, is the name of a country or people.

193. *Timiṅgilāśana* (XIV.16), literally a 'whale-eating people', in the southern division. Utpala regards it as one name. Kern is evidently wrong in observing that 'the commentator sees two words in it in the compound, viz. Taimiṅgila and Sanas or Śanas.'³⁶⁷ The *Mahābhārata* (II.31.69) speaks of Timiṅgila as a southern king defeated by Sahadeva. Dey proposes to identify it with ḍiṇḍigala

valley in the district of Madura in Madras. He thinks that it is Tangala and Taga of Ptolemy.³⁶⁸

194. *Trigarta* (IX.19), a country in the northern division (XIV.25) The people of Trigarta are referred to as *Traigarta* (X.11; XVI.21; XVII.16) and *Traigartaka* (IV.24). Trigarta denotes the country drained by the three rivers, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, and comprised the whole of the upper Doab between the Ravi and the Sutlej. Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (IV.24) identifies Trigarta with Jālandhara (*Jālandharās=Trigarttās=syuh*)³⁶⁹ and this seems to be supported by epigraphic evidence.³⁷⁰

195. *Trinetra* (XIV.31), literally a 'three-eyed people', in the north-east division.

196. *Turagānana* (XIV.25), literally a 'horse-faced people', in the northern division. See Aśvamukha above.

197. *Tuṣāra* (XVI.6), a people in the north-west division (XIV.22). The Tuṣāras are Ptolemy's Tochari who are said to be under subjugation to the Bactrians and are described as 'the most distinguished.'³⁷¹ According to Stein, the Tukhāra (Tuṣāra) country comprised the upper Oxus valley including Balkh and Badakhshan.³⁷² It corresponds to the Tukharistan of the Arab writers.

198. *Uddekika* (XIV.3), a people and their country in Madhyadeśa. Alberuni (X.300) tells us that Uddekika was situated near Bazana which was twenty *farsākh* (1 *farsākh*=4 miles) eighty miles in a south-western direction from Kanauj, 60 *farsākh* north-west of Anhilwara, and 20 *farsākh* to the north of Maiwar. We are further told that Bazana was the capital of Gujarat (ancient Gurjaradeśa) and 'is called Narayan by our people. After it had fallen into decay the inhabitants migrated to another place called Jadura (?).'³⁷³ Coins bearing the inscription *Udehaki* in Brāhmī characters of the second century BC evidently belong to our Uddekikas.³⁷⁴ One of these coins mentions an Uddekika king named Sūryamitra. Cunningham identified Alberuni's Bazana or Narayan with Narayanpur, a small town in the erstwhile Alwar State, 10 miles to the north-east of Bariat.³⁷⁵ S.K. Dikshit proposes to identify Bazana with Naraina in the Sambhar district of Rajasthan, 70 miles south-west of Bairat, and Uddekika, capital of the Uddekikas, with Bari Udai in the former Jaipur State, 40 miles north-east of Rairh, and about 92 miles east-south-east of Naraina.³⁷⁶

199. *Udra* (V.35; XVI.1; XVII.25), a country and its people in the eastern division (XIV.6). The derivative *Audra* occurs in V.74. *Udra* or *Audra* is the original

of Orissa. But the Uḍras could not have occupied the whole of Orissa for parts of it were occupied by the Utkalas and Kalingas. It has been suggested, therefore, that ancient Uḍra comprised Western Midnapur, Manbhum, Eastern Singhbhum and South Bankura. At a later time, the Uḍras overran the Utkalas and the Kalingas and imparted their name to the whole of Orissa.³⁷⁷

200. *Udumbara* (V.40; XVI.3), a country the people of which called Audumbara are assigned to Madhyadeśa (XIV.4). As indicated by the find-spots of their coins, the Udumbara territory comprised Pathankot in Gurdaspur district, the eastern part of the Kangra valley and the Hoshiarpur district.³⁷⁸ The Audumbaras or Udumbaras are frequently mentioned in Indian literature. We have shown that Mahādeva was not an Audumbara chief as generally believed and that the only Audumbara chiefs known so far are Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghoṣa. See "Some Observations on Audumbara Coinage", *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 157-62; "A Further Note on the Audumbara Coinage", *ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 87-90; "Attribution of Mahādeva Coins", *ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 14-18; "Was Mahādeva an Audumbara King?", *ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 15-22.

201. *Upajyotiṣa* (XIV.3), a people or country in Madhya-deśa.

202. *Upavaṅga* (XIV.8), a country in the south-east division, has been identified with the central portion of the eastern part of the delta of the Gaṅgā.³⁷⁹

203. *Ūrdhvakāṇṭha* (XIV.8), literally a people with high throats,³⁸⁰ in the south-east division.

204. *Uśīnara*s (IV.22; XVI.26) had their territory to the north of the Kurus, probably between the Chenab and the Ravi. The king of Uśīnara is called *Auśīnara* (XI.55).

205. *Utkala* (XIV.7), a people in the eastern division. Kālidāsa (*Raghuvamśa*, IV.38) places Utkala to the south of the river Kapiśā which has been identified with the Kasai flowing through the Midnapur district of Bengal. The Bhuvaneśvara stone inscr. of Narasimha I refers to Ekāmra, modern Bhuvaneśvara, as situated in Utkalaviṣaya.³⁸¹ It shows that the Puri district was included in Utkala. Thus Utkala comprised the tract from Balasore to Lohardaga and Sarguja.³⁸² In the Aḍhabhāra copper plate inscription of the Pāṇḍuvamśin king Nanna II the name Utkala appears to have been employed loosely in the sense of the present Oriya region in general and Tivaradeva is said to have acquired control over

the whole of Utkala by the prowess of his arms. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīvas, Pāṇḍuvamśins and Somavamśins*, Part II, Delhi, 1995, p. 116.

206. *Uttara-Pāṇḍya* (XVI.10). See Pāṇḍya above.

207. *Vaiśya* (X.7), a people in the western division (XIV.21).

208. *Vaṅga* (V.72, 73, 79; IX.10; X.14; XVI.1; XVII. 18, 22; XXXII.15), a country and its people in the south-east division (XIV.8). The ruler of Vaṅga is called *Vāṅga* (XI.60). Kālidāsa locates the Vaṅgas in the delta formed by the Gaṅgā and the Brahmaputra (*Raghuvamśa*, IV.36). Vaṅga is one of the four traditional divisions of Bengal bounded by the Brahmaputra on the west, the Gaṅgā on the south, the Meghna on the east and the Khasi hills on the north.³⁸³ According to Pargiter, it comprised the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, parts of Rajshahi, Pabna and Faridpur.³⁸⁴

209. *Vāricara* (XIV.14), meaning mariners, in the southern division. Kern thinks the Vāricaras may be the pirates of the Greek writers.³⁸⁵

210. *Vasātis* (XVII.19) of the northern division (XIV.25) are the Ossadioi of Alexander's historians, settled in the region between the Indus and the Jhelum, comprising Rawalpindi.³⁸⁶ Vāsāti is also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, IV.2.52) and the *Mahāmāyūrī* (27).

211. *Vāṭadhāna* (XVI.21), a people in the northern division (XIV.26). In the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (Ch. 51), Vāṭadhānas are mentioned between the Bāhlikas and Ābhīras. According to Pargiter, Vāṭadhāna was a country on the east side of the Sutlej, southwards from Ferozepur. Dey³⁸⁷ identifies it with Bhatnair.³⁸⁸ In the *Mahābhārata* (II.32,8), mention is made of a Vāṭadhāna settlement near Madhyamikā, modern Nagari in Rajputana.³⁸⁹

212. *Vatsas* (X.5; XVII.18, 22), assigned to Madhyadeśa (XIV.2) and to south-east division (XIV.8), are an ancient people whose country lay near Allahabad with Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam, on the Yamunā, for its capital.

213. *Vidarbha* (XIV.8), in the south-east division, included modern Berar and the tract between the rivers Varadā and Wainganga. The *Agni-purāṇa* (LV.13) also mentions it as a country in the south-east Bhāratavarṣa. The people of Vidarbha are referred to as *Vaidarbha* (IX.27).

214. *Videha* (V.41, 71; XVI.II) corresponded roughly to Tirabhukti (modern Tirhut) in north Bihar and comprised the country from Gorakhpur on the Rapti to Darbhanga, with Kosala on the west and Anga on the east. On the north it approached the hills, and in the south it was bounded by the small kingdom of Vaiśālī.³⁹⁰ Mention is also made of its capital Mithilā. The people of Videha are called *Vaideha* (IX.13,21; XVI.15) and *Vaidehaka* (XXXII.22).

215. *Vidyādhara*s (IX.27, 38) are a class of demi-gods. Kern renders the name by 'the inhabitants of Fairy-land' and compares them with the wise elves of the Teutonic mythology.³⁹¹

216. *Viṭakas* (XVI.2) are, according to Kern, the same as the *Utsavasāṅketas* and *Lampākas* of the great epic.³⁹²

217. *Vokkāṇa* (XVI.34), a place and its people in the western division (XIV.20). It is referred to in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (I.99) and has been identified with Wakhan.

218. *Vṛṣadvīpa* (XIV.9), an island in the southern division.

219. *Vyāghramukha* (XIV.5), literally a 'people with faces like that of a tiger', in the eastern division.

220. *Vyālagrīva* (XIV.9), literally a 'people with necks like that of a serpent', in the south-east division.

221. *Yaudheya* (V.40, 67, 75; XVI.21; XVII.19), a people in the northern division (XIV.28). The pleonastic form *Yaudheyaka* is also met with (IX.11; XI.59). *Yaudheyas* are first mentioned in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (V.3.117). Their coins ranging from second century BC to third-fourth century AD have been found in eastern Panjab and in the region between the Sutlej and the Yamunā. They lived on both banks of the Sutlej along the Bahawalpur frontier which is known as Johiyawar,³⁹³ a name still reminding us of the *Yaudheyas*. The Johiya Rajputs are their present descendants. The inclusion of the Mandi and Kangra region of Himachal Pradesh in the *Yaudheya* principality is probably indicated by the recent discoveries of a large number of *Yaudheya* copper coins in this area. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Interesting Kuṇinda and *Yaudheya* Coins," *Numismatic Digest*, VIII, pp. 24-36; "Some Observations on the Mandi Hoard of *Yaudheya* and Kuṇinda Coins", *ibid.*, XI, pp. 40-43; P.L. Gupta, "The Brahmanya Coins", *ibid.*, pp. 28-39.

In the second century, they were vanquished by the Śaka Mahākaśatrapa Rudrādaman³⁹⁴ I and about two centuries later, they had to pay tribute to the Gupta monarch Samudra Gupta.³⁹⁵ The references by Varāhamihira show that though they had lost political independence, they still maintained their distinct identity. The mention of the king of the Yaudheyas (IX.II) perhaps indicates that they had their own leaders who were known as kings.

222. *Yavanas* (IV.22; V.78,80; IX,21, 35; X.6,15, 18; XIII.9; XVI.1; XVIII.6), Greeks, are located in the south-west division (XIV.18). Probably some Greek settlement near Nasik is intended. The Yavanas are referred to in several epigraphic records in Western Indian caves, particularly at Karli, Junnarad Nasik.³⁹⁶ In II.15, Yavanas are styled Mlecchas and a reference is made to their proficiency in astrology.

223. *Yugandhara* (XXXII.19). The *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan, 129.9) speaks of it as a prosperous *janapada* in the Yamunā region (*Yamunām=anu*) and associates it with Sālva (Virāṭaparvan, I.13). Its location by Agrawala in Ambala district between the Sarasvatī and the upper Yamunā, where Jagadhari probably is a relic of the old name, is quite plausible.³⁹⁷

IV

LOCALITIES

1. *Alaka* (XI.58). The text gives '*Ikṣvākur=Alakanāthah*', i.e. Ikṣvāku and the lord of Alaka. The feminine Alakā would violate the metre; but Utpala says, '*Alakā nāma nagarī, tan=nāthah*'. Alakā is the mythical town of Kubera on Mt. Kailāśa, so beautifully described by Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava* and *Meghadūta*.

2. *Ayodhya* (IV.24) is situated on the Sarayū in the Fyzabad district of Uttar Pradesh. Varāhamihira refers to the rulers of Ayodhyā (*Āyodhyakān pārthivān*).

3. *Baladevapattana* (XIV.16), a town in the southern division, is, according to Kern, 'the Balaipatna of Ptolemy, so that the reading Palaipatna, preferred by Lassen, is proved to be a false form.'³⁹⁸ It is identical with the town of Balaipattam in Malabar.³⁹⁹ The *Periplus* mentions it as Palaepatmae. Its identification with modern Dabhol as suggested by Schoff⁴⁰⁰ does not appear to be probable. V.V. Mirashi (*Śilāhāra Rājavamśacā Itihāsa āṇi Korīva Lekha*, [Marathi],

Nagpur, 1974, Introduction, pp. 5-6 and 42-43) proposes to identify it with Balinagara and Balipattana, the capital of the Śilāhāras of South Koṅkaṇa, mentioned in a few grants of kings Avasara and Raṭṭarāja, which he takes to be the same as Kharepāṭan in the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra. But it does not appear to be probable.

4. *Bharukaccha* (XVI.6; LXVIII.11), a town in the southern division (XIV.11), is the Greek Barygaza, modern Broach.

5. *Bhogaprashta* (XIV.25), in the northern division. From the analogy of the name Indraprastha it appears to be the name of a city.⁴⁰¹

6. *Bhogavardhana* (XVI.12). The verse containing this name is not commented upon by Utpala and, therefore, appears to be spurious. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (LVII.48-9) places Bhogavardhana in the southern division. It is mentioned in inscriptions from Bharhut⁴⁰² and Sanchi⁴⁰³ and may be identified with Bhokardan in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. The excavations at this place have shown that it flourished from about the third century BC to about the Gupta period, the early centuries of the Christian era being the most prosperous period. See S.B. Deo, A.M. Shastri *et al*, *Excavations at Bhokardan*, Nagpur-Aurangabad, 1974, pp. 17-18.

7. *Bhūtapura* (XIV.27), a city in the northern division.

8. *Brahmapura* (XIV.30), a city in the north-east division. The *Agni-purāṇa* (LV.20) also locates it in the north-east of Bhāratavarṣa. M. Julien renders Yuan Chwang's Po-lo-ki-mo-pu-lo as Brahmapura, and Cunningham identifies it with Variat-pattan on the Ramganga river, about 80 miles in a direct line from Madawar. Yuan Chwang mentions it as a country which lay in the Garhwal and Kumaun region.⁴⁰⁴

9. *Candrapura* (XIV.5), a city in the eastern division.

10. *Daśapura* (XIV.12) in the southern division is present Mandasor.

11. *Dharmapattana* XIV.14), a city in the southern division. It may be the same as Dhamavaḍhana mentioned in Sanchi inscriptions. Another possible identification is with Dharmapuri in the Salem district of the Tamil Nadu. The *Amara-koṣa* gives *Dharmapattana* as a synonym for black pepper. Kṣīrasvāmin and, following him, Bhānuji Dikṣita state that black pepper was so called as it was

produced in that country. V.S. Agrawala appears right in identifying it with Nakhon Śrī Thammarat, about 200 miles north of Kedah and situated on the east coast of the southern peninsular extension of Siam to the north of the Malay Peninsula. The word *dvīpa* following Dharmapattana in the *BS* is taken by Agrawala as qualifying the latter whereas others, as we have seen above, take it as independent of Dharmapattana and as referring to Maldives (see *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 7th Session, Madras, pp.125-27).

12. *Gajāhvaya* (XIV.14) in Madhyadeśa is another name of Hastināpura, the ancient capital of the Kurus, in Meerut district, Uttar Pradesh.

13. *Gayā* (YY, IV.47). At *Gayā piṇḍas*⁴⁰⁵. were offered to manes.

14. *Girinagara* (XIV.11) in the southern division is modern Junagadh. Originally, the town of Junagadh itself was called Girinagara,⁴⁰⁶ but this name was subsequently transferred to Mt. Girnar which was anciently known as Ūrjayat or Raivataka.

15. *Girivraja* (X.14). Two towns of this name are known—(1) Girivraja, capital of Magadha, represented by modern Rajgir in Bihar, and (2) Girivraja, Kekaya capital, now represented by Jalalpur or Girjak in the Panjab.⁴⁰⁷

16. *Gonarda* (IX.13; XXXII.22), a locality in the southern division (XIV.12). The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (LVIII.20-9) also mentions Gonarda among the countries of southern India. In the *pārāyaṇa* incorporated in the Pali *Suttanipātā*, Gonarda (Gonaddha) is mentioned as an intermediary step between Ujjayinī and Vidiśā. The locality, however, cannot be precisely identified.⁴⁰⁸ In his *Māhabhāṣya*, Patañjali often styles himself *Gonardīya*, i.e., one hailing from Gonarda.

17. *Hemakuḍya*⁴⁰⁹ (v.l. Hemakūṭa, -kūṭya, -kuṇḍya, XIV.0), a place in the south-east division.

18. *Kālājina* (v. l. Kālāñjana, XIV.11), a place in the southern division. Fleet⁴¹⁰ points out the possibility of its being identical with Kālāñjara which is sometimes wrongly spelt in inscriptions as Kālāñjana.

19. *Kālakoṭi* (XIV.4), a locality in Madhyadeśa.

20. *Kāñci* (XIV.15) in the southern division is the present Conjeeveram on the Palar, 43 miles south-west of Madras. According to Burnell, Skr. *Kāñci* is a mistranslation of the Dravidian *Kāñji*.⁴¹¹

21. *Kaṇṭakasthala* (XIV.10), a place in the south-east division. It should be identified with ancient Kaṇṭakaśāila, modern Ghaṇṭaśāla, where a number of early Buddhist inscriptions have been found.⁴¹²

22. *Kāntipura* (XVI.11) cannot be identified definitely. Cunningham identifies Kāntipurī with Kotwal, 25 miles north of Gwalior.⁴¹³ Wright holds that the ancient name of Kathmandu in Nepal was Kāntipura or Kāntipurī.⁴¹⁴ K.P. Jayaswal identified the Nāga Capital Kāntipurī with Kantit in the Mirzapur district of U.P.,⁴¹⁵ while others identify it with Kutwar in the Morena District of Madhya Pradesh.

23. *Kapiṣṭhala* (v. l. Kapiṣṭhaka, XIV.4) in Madhyadeśa is Kaithal in the Karnal district, Panjab. Some connect it with the Kambishtoloi of Arrian. Alberuni (I.206) calls it Kavital.

24. *Kārmaṇeya* (XIV.15), implied in *Kārmaṇeyaka* (a people in the southern division), is mentioned in inscriptions as Kārmaṇeya, Kamaṇīya, and Kammanijja, and is modern Kamrej in the former Baroda State.⁴¹⁶

25. *Kāśī* (V.72; X.4, 13; XXXII.19), in the eastern division (XIV.7). *Kāśī-deśa* (XVII.25) denotes the country round Banaras. The word Kāśī when used in plural means the people of Kāśī (V.69). The king of Kāśī is called *Kāśīśvara* (IX.19), *Kāśīpa* (XI.59) and *Kāśī-rāja* (LXXVII.1).

26. *Kauśāmbī* (XVI.3) is at present represented by the ruins of Kosam, a village on the left bank of the Yamunā about 30 miles from Allahabad.

27. *Kollagiri* (XIV.13) in the southern division is identified by Fleet⁴¹⁷ with modern Kolhapur which is mentioned as Kollagira in a Terdal inscr.⁴¹⁸ The *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, 31.68) speaks of Kolagiri as a mountain and of Kollagireya (Āśvamedhika, 83.11) as a country in the south conquered by Sahadeva.

28. *Kṛṣṇavellūra* (XIV.14), a place in the southern division. Kern seems justified in taking it as one word. Fleet, however, splits it up into Kṛṣṇa and Vellūra, the first, according to him, referring to the river Krishna, and the second being identical with Ellora, mentioned in inscriptions as Vallūra and Valūraka.⁴¹⁹ Fleet's view lacks plausibility, for Kṛṣṇa ends in short a and not longer ā as should have been the case if it were to refer to the river Krishna.

29. *Kuñjaradarī* (XVI.16), literally the elephant's cave or glen, a place in the

southern division. Utpala explains Kuñjaradarī as Hastikhaṇḍā. It is situated on the boundary of Travancore and Tirunelveli districts.

30. *Madhyamikā* (XIV.2), implied in the word *Mādhyamikāḥ* the inhabitants of Madhyamikā, in Madhyadeśa. It has been identified with Nagari near Chittor in Rajasthan.

31. *Marucīpaṭṭana* (XIV.15), a city in the southern division. As suggested by Kern, Maruci or Muraci or Marīci seems to be Muziris (transposed from Murizis) of the Greeks.⁴²⁰ It is mentioned by the author of the *Periplus*⁴²¹ (Muziris) and Ptolemy⁴²² and has been identified with Muyiri-kotta near Cranganore on the Malabar Coast.

32. *Mathurā* (IV.26). The *Māthurakas* (XIV.3) are placed in Madhyadeśa. Varāhamihira refers to the eastern and western halves of Mathurā (XVI.17, 21).

33. *Mithilā* (X.14), a city in the eastern division (XIV.6), has been identified with Janakpur within the Nepal border.

34. *Nāsikya* (XVI.12), in the southern division (XIV.13), is modern Nasik. The form Nāsika appears in Ptolemy⁴²³ and in some epigraphic records at Bedsa and Nasik.⁴²⁴

35. *Paraloka* (LXXX.2, 4), celebrated for its pearl-fisheries, may be the same as the Paralia of the *Periplus*, derived from Purali, an ancient local name for Travancore,⁴²⁵ or as Ptolemy's Paralia which 'designated exclusively the sea-board of the Toringoi.'⁴²⁶

36. *Prabhāsa* (XVI.32) is Prabhāsapaṭṭan, a famous place of pilgrimage, near Dvārakā. It is described as a *puṇya-tīrtha* in a Nasik cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna.⁴²⁷

37. *Prayāga* (XI.35), Prayag near Allahabad.

38. *Puṣkalāvati*, as implied in *Puṣkalāvata* (XIV.26), 'the inhabitants of Puṣkalāvati', in the northern division, has been identified with Charsadda, about 17 miles north-east of Peshawar. The pleonastic form *Puṣkalāvataka* occurs in XVI.26.

39. *Sāketa* (XIV.4), a town in Madhyadeśa, is generally supposed to be just another name for Ayodhyā; but as both these cities are mentioned as existing

in Buddha's time, Rhys Davids suggests that they were possibly adjoining towns like London and Westminster.⁴²⁸

40. *Simhapura* (V.42), as implied in *Simhapuraka*, the inhabitants of Simhapura. Yuan Chwang mentions a town named Seng-ho-pulo (I.2, 49) which Cunningham and Stein identify with the present Ketas, 'on the north side of the Salt Range, at 16 miles from Pind Dadan Khan, and 18 miles from Chakowal, but not more than 85 miles from Shahdheri or Taxila.'⁴²⁹ Another Simhapura is referred to in the Komarti plates of Caṇḍavarman,⁴³⁰ Brihatposhṭha grant of Umāvarman,⁴³¹ Belva grant of Bhojavarmadeva⁴³² as also in the *Mahāvamsa* (VI 35 ff.) and is generally identified with Singupuram between Chicacole and Narasimhapeta.

41. *Sirindhra* (XIV.29), implied in *Sairindhra*, the people of Sirindhra, in the north-east division, is, according to Cunningham, represented by modern Sirhind.⁴³³

42. *Srughna* (XIV.20) is the same as the modern village of Sugh, on the old Jumna, near Jagadhari.⁴³⁴

43. *Śūrpāraka* (LXXIX.6), noted for its diamonds, is the same as Suppara of the *Periplus*⁴³⁵ and Soupara of Ptolemy.⁴³⁶ It is modern Sopara in the Thana district, 37 miles north of Bombay.

44. *Takṣaśilā* (X.8). Its inhabitants called Tākṣaśila (XVI.25) are placed in the northern division (XIV.26). The site of this great city is now occupied by the villages of Shahdheri, Sir-kap, Sir-sukh and Kachcha-kot at a short distance to the north-west of Rawalpindi.

45. *Tālikata* (XIV.11), a city in the southern division, is doubtfully identified by Fleet with Talikot in the Bijapur district.⁴³⁸ It seems more reasonable to identify it with Talkad or Talakkāḍu, the celebrated Gaṅga capital, 30 miles to the east by south of Mysore.

46. *Tāmralīpti* (X.14), the inhabitants of which called *Tāmralīptaka* are placed in the eastern division (XIV.7), is Tamluk in the Midnapur district, W. Bengal.

47. *Tāpasāśrama* (XIV.15), literally 'the hermitages of the sages', in the southern division. *Tāpasāśrama* is sometimes identified with Pandharpur in Maharashtra. Dey connects it with Ptolemy's Tabasoi.⁴³⁷

48. *Triṇpura* (V.39) or *Triṇpūrī* in the south-east division (XIV.9) is modern Tewar in the Jabalpur district, Madhya Pradesh.⁴³⁹

49. *Tumbavana* (XIV.15), in the southern division. Its identification with Tumain, 6 miles south of Ashoknagar in the Guna district of Madhya Pradesh, is placed beyond doubt by the Tumain inscription of the time of Kumāragupta, dated G.116 (AD 435)⁴⁴⁰. It is referred to in some early inscriptions from Sanchi.⁴⁴¹

50. *Ujjayinī* (X.15; XII.14; LXVIII.30), Ujjain on the Śīprā. The ruler of Ujjayinī is referred to as *Aujjayinika* (XI.56).

51. *Ujjihāna* (XIV.2) in Madhyadeśa. According to N.L. Dey, Ujjihāna is the same as Uḍḍiyāna, which is corrupted into Urain in the district of Monghyr, near Kiul, containing several Buddhist remains.⁴⁴² This suggestion is untenable for in that case Ujjihāna should have been placed in the eastern division, not in Madhyadeśa. J. Ph. Vogel thinks that it is the same as Ptolemy's Ozoana and identifies it Ujjhana on a bend of the river Rind about two miles to the east of Bhikdeo in the Derapur Tehsil of the Kanpur district,⁴⁴³ while according to others it is represented by the town of Ujhani, in Badaun district of Uttar Pradesh.⁴⁴⁴

52. *Vaḍavāmukha* (XIV.17) in the south-west division. It is a mythical place which in the astronomical *Siddhāntas* is the supposed abode of the dead at the South Pole.⁴⁴⁵

53. *Vanavāsī* (IX.15; XVI.6) in the southern division (XIV.12). Utpala invariably takes it as an appellative denoting the inhabitants of the forest and, following him, Kern says that this being a general term would comprehend all tribes living in forests, consequently Śābaras too.⁴⁴⁶ But it is more reasonable to take it as a place-name and identify it with modern Banavasi in the North Kanara district of Karnataka.⁴⁴⁷

54. *Vardhamāna* (XVI.3; LXVIII.21; CIII.2), a city in the eastern division (XIV.7), is Burdwan in Bengal.⁴⁴⁸

55. *Vatsaghoṣa*. Vatsa and Ghoṣa have been mentioned above as names of two separate countries following Utpala. But it is not impossible that the two names formed in reality one name and in that case it may have denoted a locality in Madhyadeśa (XIV.2). In this connection the title Vachaghosa (Skt. Vatsaghosa) occurring on the Senāpati coins encountered in the excavations at Rairh in Rajasthan is very interesting. In all probability it is a place-name. See

K.K. Dasgupta, "A Note on Vachhaghosa on Some Early Indian Coins", *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 50-52.

56. *Vidiśā* (XVI.31), Besnagar near Bhilsa.

57. *Virāṭa* (XVI.12).⁴⁴⁹ Fleet invites our attention to *Virāṭakoṭa*, an old name of Hangal in Dharwar.⁴⁵⁰ But it is most probably identical with Bairat, 40 miles to the north of Jaipur.

58. *Yaśovatī* (XIV.28), a city in the northern division. Kern regards it as 'a mythical city of the Elves.'⁴⁵¹

Notes and References

1. Fleet published "The Topographical List of the *Bṛhatsamhitā*" in *IA*, XXII, pp.169 ff; but he confined himself merely to cataloguing names of peoples, countries, etc., and very sparingly giving early epigraphical references. It is for the first time here that we have collected all relevant references, classified them under different heads and suggested identifications wherever possible.
2. In support of freedom from textual corruption it may be pointed out that *BS* correctly mentions *Mekalāmbaṣṭha* and *Paundrotkala* (xiv.7) which the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* corrupts into *Mekalamuṣṭha* and *Pūṇotkaṭa*. Cf.H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities* (hereafter referred to as *Antiquities*), p.37.
3. S.N. Majumdar Sastri (Introduction to *CAGI*, p.1) also quotes this statement as *Utpala's*, evidently relying on *Alberuni*.
4. Cf. LXXII.2 where the word *naga* meaning a mountain is used to denote the numeral 7.
5. तत्रेदं भारतं वर्षम्। अस्य च नव भेदाः। इन्द्रद्वीपः, कसेरुमान्, ताम्रपर्णी, गन्धर्वो, वारुणः, कुमारीद्वीपश्चायं नवमः। पञ्चशतानि जलम्, पञ्च स्थलमिति विभागेन प्रत्येकं योजनसहस्रावधयो दक्षिणार्तः समुद्रादद्विराजं हिमवन्तं यावत् परस्परमगम्यास्ते।... तत्र च कुमारीद्वीपेः- विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च शुक्तिमान् ऋक्षपर्वतः। महेन्द्र-सह्य-मलयाः सप्तैते कुल-पर्वताः॥

Kāryamīmāṃsā, p.92

6. Cf. *Alberuni* (I, 295): 'Bhāratavarṣa is not India alone as Hindus think'. For suggestions regarding the identification of some of these *dvīpas* see *CAGI*, pp.749-54; Raychaudhuri, *Antiquities*, pp.83-5; V.S. Agrawala, *Vāmana-purāṇa—A study*, pp.28-29; *Matsya-purāṇa - A study*, pp.192-93.
7. It is used in this limited sense in the *Vāyupurāṇa* XLV.75-6; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, II.3.1; *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣmaparvan Ch.9); *Matsya-purāṇa*, CXIV.10, etc. In the Hathigumpha Inscr. of Khāravela it is referred to as *Bharadhavasa* which seems to denote North India, cf. *EI*, XX, p.79, line.10.

8. *Bhāgavata*, XI.2.15 f.; *Garuḍa* Ch.54; *Brahmāṇḍa*, XXXIV.55; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, LIII.41; *Yāyū*, XXXIII.51-2.
9. *Matsya*, CXIV.5; *Brahmāṇḍa*, XLIX.10. Cf. D.R.Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p.262. Alberuni's remarks (I.295) are worth quoting—"We find a tradition in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* that the centre (*sic*) of Jambudvīpa is called Bhāratavarṣa, which means those who acquire something and nourish themselves.'
10. B.C. Law, *India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p.14; *Historical Geography of Ancient India* (hereafter referred to as *Historical Geography*), p.10.
11. *Antiquities*, p.77.
12. Patil, *op.cit.*, p. 263; *Brahmāṇḍa*, XXXIV.55.
13. *Ibid.*, XXXV.30; *Matsya*, CXIII.28.
14. In Kern's and V.S. Sastri's ed.
15. In. S. Dvivedi's ed.
16. Cf. Kern's remarks (*JRAS*, 1871, p.81, fn.1):- "The word *Kūrma* is the specific Sanskrit form of a word once common to all Indo-European tongues, viz., *Kūrma*, Lat. *culmus*, Teuton, *holm*, etc. It does not originally denote the 'tortoise' itself, but its back, for the proper meaning is 'mound, buckle, half-globe, holm.' Even in Sanskrit in such compounds as *kūrmonnata*, the word signifies the form of the back of the tortoise. At the time when the word *kūrma-vihhāga* became current, *kūrma* was taken in its proper sense. Yet in later times, they wholly mistook the meaning and made an absurd drawing, representing a tortoise, as if *kūrma* could denote a level. The rendering by 'Globe' is not wholly exact, since properly only a half-globe, a holm is supposed to be raised above the waters".
17. नक्षत्रत्रयवर्गे राग्नेयादयैर्व्यवस्थितैर्नवधा ।
भारतवर्षे मध्यप्रागादिविभाजिता देशः ॥

XIV.1.

Alberuni (I.295) informs us that Indian astrologers were accustomed to divide each country into nine parts and to try to find out lucky and unlucky places in it. He explains the *kūrma-cakra* as follows:- "Their astronomers and astrologers divide the directions according to the lunar stations,...and the figure which represents this division is similar to a tortoise. Therefore it is called *kūrma-cakra*, i.e. the tortoise-circle or the tortoise-shape (I.296-97)."

18. This diagram is taken from Alberuni (I.297) who says he had borrowed it from the *Samhitā* of Varāhamihira.
19. For application of this formula see XIV.32-3.
20. See citations from Garga in Utpala's commentary on XIV.1.
21. Vardhamāna and Mahārāṣṭra are also named by Varāhamihira, cf. XIV.7; X.8.

22. *Antiquities*, p.49
23. Cf. Garga cited by Utpala on XIV.1.
24. *CAGI*, pp.665-66; Raychaudhuri, *Antiquities*, p.87.
25. B.C. Law, *Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p.18.
26. *CAGI*, pp.13-4.
27. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, pp.93-4.
28. Raychaudhuri, *Antiquities*, p.87, fn.1; *PHAI*, pp.156 f.
29. *JRAS*, 1870, p.463.fn.1.
30. Cf. *Pūrvāparayoh samudrayoh Himavad* = Vindhyaś = *c-āntaram* = *Aryāvartah*, *Kāvyumimāṃsā*, Ch.XVII.p.93.
31. *CII*, III, p.7, line 21.
32. V.30, 51, 78, 90; VIII.46; X.5; XI.35; XVII.19,20,22; XVIII.4; XLVI.7; LXVIII.18.
33. *CAGI*, p.XL.III; B.C. Law, *Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp.20-1; *Historical Geography*, pp.12-3.
34. *CAGI*, p.14.
35. For the *Samāsa-saṃhita* passage and discussion of this question see our paper in *BV*, XXIII, pp.22 ff.
36. For some epigraphical references to Madhyadeśa see *CII*, III, p.285; IV, pp.424, 429, 513, 516; N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, 16 ff.
37. *Vinaśana-Prayāgayoh Gaṅgā-Yamunayoh* = *c-āntaram* = *Antarvedī*, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* p.94.
38. *CII*, III, p.68.
39. Schoff's edition. Hereafter cited as *Periplus*.
40. *SI*, pp. 172, 187, 198. *Lüders' List*, Nos. 965, 1112, 1123.
41. *CII*, III, p.7, lines 19-20; also p.13, fn.5.
42. *Prthūdakāt parata Uttarāpathah*, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p.94.
43. *EI*, XX, pp.79-80. It is also mentioned in Guserawa Inscr., *JASB*, XVII, pp.492, 498.
44. *Harṣa-carita*, V, p.210.
45. *IA*, IX, p.127.
46. It may be identified with the Northern Route of Strabo and Pliny which ran from East India to Gandhāra and thence towards further west, cf. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp.244-5.

47. A Kanheri inscription (*Lüders' List*, No.1013) styles a female from Aparānta as Aparāntikā, feminine form of Aparāntaka. She is at the same time called (Kāli)añikā or an inhabitant of Kalyāṇa, indicating the inclusion of Kalyāṇa into Aparānta. In No.1014 she is called only Kāliyānikā.
48. *Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar*, III, pp.6, 17.
49. *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p.94.
50. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (S.N. Majumdar Sastri's ed., hereafter referred to as *Ptolemy*), p.175.
51. Aparānta is also mentioned in the Nasik Cave inscr. of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣamāvi, the Junagadh inscr. of Rudradāman I and other records, cf. *SI*, I, pp.172, 196.
52. Cf. *BS*, Introduction, pp.32-3.
53. *CAGI*, p.7
54. Cf. *IA*, XXII, pp.169-70.
55. R.N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India* (hereafter referred to as Mehta), p.369.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Cunningham (*CAI*, p.103) identifies it with Mt.Abu.
58. Pargiter, "The Geography of Rāma's Exile," *JRAS*, 1894, p.239.
59. *Ibid.*, 1894, p.262.
60. This reference is not given by Fleet.
61. *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, p. 288 note.
62. *CASR*, II, pp.372-3.
63. *Antiquities*, p.117.
64. *EC*, VIII; L.Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p.112.
65. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (hereafter cited as Dey), p.70.
66. *JRAS*, 1870, p.462, fn.4.
67. *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p.39.
68. *SI*, I, p.196
69. *Dey*, pp.82-83.
70. *CII*, III, p.86.
71. *JRAS*, 1894, p.257; *ASSI*, I p.322; *Dey*, pp.100-101
72. *Dey*, p.104.

73. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 284 note.
74. *Antiquities*, pp.98-9.
75. For some epigraphic references, vide *SI*, I, p.196; *CII*, III, pp.7, 284.
76. Also mentioned in XXVII. 2 of Kern's and V.S.Sastri's ed.
77. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p.285 & note.
78. *Ptolemy*, p.78.
79. For an epigraphic reference cf. *SI*, I, p.196, line 2.
80. *JRAS*, 1894, pp.256-7.
81. *Dey*, p.123.
82. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.
83. *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p.42; *Historical Geography*, p.111.
84. S.K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p.209.
85. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p.286 & note.
86. *CASR*, VI, p.1; XIV, p.151.
87. *SI*, I, p.196, line 2, Cf. *CII*, III, p.157 (Mandasor Inscr. of Yaśodharman).
88. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*
89. *CII*, III, p.160, line 16. Also cf. *ibid.*, p.230.
90. *IA*, VI, p.85.
91. *JRAS*, 1874, p.253.
92. *Ibid*, p.285 and note.
93. *Ptolemy*, pp.80 f.; 102 ff.
94. *CII*, III, p.176. Also cf. *SI*, I, p.196, line 2.
95. *EI*, XX, p.22, Inscr. No. F; A.H. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, *MASI*, No. 54, p 3; T.N. Ramachandran, *Nagarjunakonda*, *MASI*, No.71, p.5.
96. *SI*, I, p. 196, line 2
97. H.C. Raychaudhuri, *Antiquities*, p, 106; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd ed., Delhi 1972, p.57.
98. V.V. Mirashi, *The History and Inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*, Bombay, 1981, p.45 line 2. For discussion, see Ajay Mitra Shastri (ed.), *The Age of the Vākāṭakas*, New Delhi, 1992, p.8; *Śātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas: A Historical Framework*, under publication.

99. *CII*, III p.184.
100. *CII*, III p.185.
101. *IC*, VIII p.113; *IA* XIX, pp.304, 310 *EI*, VI, p.5, line 8, v.17.
102. *Ptolemy*, p. 89.
103. *IA*, XXII, p.176.
104. Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 292 and note.
105. Cf. *JUPHS*, 1944, Pt.II, pp.76-9; Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p.45.
106. Law, *Rivers of India*, p.39.
107. This verse is included in Kern's and Sastri's editions, but not in Dvivedi's ed. The absence of Utpala's commentary on it probably indicates its spuriousness.
108. Cf. *Dey*, p.70.
109. *CII*, III, p.217; *IA*, XXII, p.178.
110. *Dey*, p.77.
111. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp.42-3.
112. *Historical Geography*, pp. 91, 226.
113. *Ptolemy*, pp.63,65.
114. *JRAS*, 1871, p.82, fn.2.
115. *CII*, III, p.148.
116. *Ibid.*, p.206.
117. *CASR*, XXI, p.11.
118. *IA*, XXII, p.184.
119. The idea of rivers being looked upon as ladies is met with in Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman. Cf. *CII*, III, pp.81-2, text lines 7-8.
120. *Dey*, p.141.
121. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p.295 & note; *CASR*, II.p.308.
122. Cf. *Dey*, p.156.
123. *CASR*, VII.
124. *IA*, 1893, p.138.
125. *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp.45-46.
126. Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p.130.
127. *Dey*, p.180.

128. *JRAS*, 1893, p.51.
129. Ragozin, *Vedic India*.
130. *Vedic Index*, II, p.437.
131. For a description of the modern Sarasvati, see *CASR*, XIV, pp.87-90.
132. Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p.67.
133. *ASSI*, I.p.330.
134. *Ptolemy*, p.57.
135. This verse is found in Kern's and Sastri's editions, but not in Dvivedi's. As it is not commented upon by Utpala, it appears to be spurious.
136. Act II, pp.24-26.
137. *Arthaśāstra*, p.11.
138. *JRAS*, 1894, p.242.
139. For other places called Dharmāraṇya see *Dey*, pp.53-7.
140. *CII*, III, p.7.
141. *JRAS*, 1871, p.85, fn.4.
142. *CII*, III, pp.13, 116.
143. The Ābhiras are referred to by Patañjali (*Māhābhāṣya*, on 1-2-72, Nirṇaya-Sagar Edition, Vol.II, p.108). W.W. Tarn (*Greeks in Bactria and India*, p.712) suggests, that they entered into India during the period of confusion after Alexander's invasion.
144. *Periplus*, pp.39, 175.
145. *Ptolemy*, p.140.
146. *Lüders' List* No.963.
147. Rapson, *BMC, Āndhras and Kṣtrapas*, pp. cxxxiv-cxxxvi.
148. *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, pp.228-31.
149. *CII*, IV, p.xxxiv.
150. *ABORI*, XXV, p.159; *IHQ*, XXI, p.79.
151. *CII*, III, p.8, text line 22.
152. Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, I, p.32; II, p.432, Cf. Mc Crindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p.69, fn.3; *JASB*, 1852, p.234.
153. *CAGI*, p.xli, note, cf. *SBE*, XIV, p.2.
154. *IA*, XXII, p.172. The statement of Dey (p.3) that *BS* mentions *Ākarāvantika* is incorrect.

155. S. Sankaranarayanan ("R̥ṣika and Ākara", *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, IV, pp.162-65) tries to reinforce Kern's view identifying Ākara with Khandesh. For reference, *Vide SI*, I, pp.172, 196.
156. Cf. *Agni-purāṇa*, LV.16.
157. Mc Crindle, *Invasion of India*, p.155.
158. *Ptolemy*, pp.311-12.
159. *Ibid.*, pp.159-61.
160. Cf. *PHAI*, p.256, fn.4.
161. *SI*, I, p.172.
162. Cf. Sorensen, *Dictionary of Proper names in the Mahābhārata*, p.433.
163. *SI*, I, p.37.
164. *IA*, 1913, pp.276-78.
165. *IA*, 1918, p.71; *PHAI*, p.92.
166. *Ibid.*; *Mehta*, p.370.
167. *CII*, III, p.8, line 22.
168. *Ibid.*, *Introd.*, p.10.
169. *Ārjunāyanas* are included in the Rājanyādi-gaṇa to Pāṇini, IV.2-53.
170. *CCAI*, p.xxxii.
171. *EI*, XX, p.79, line 4.
172. Barua, *IHO*, 1938, p.263; *SI*, p.198, fn.3.
173. *JNSI*, II, p.93. This was first suggested by F.E. Pargiter (*JRAS*, 1894, p.244).
174. "A Unique Coin of Sātakarṇi from Pauni", *JNSI*, XXXV, p.112.
175. See Amarendra Nath, "Toponymy of Asaka and Asika", *Indicca*, Journal of the Father Heras Institute, Bombay, XXVII, pp.94ff. Even though the legend on this sealing has been read as *Asakajanapadasa*, there is most probably a medial stroke for *i* over *s*, the intended reading being *Asika-janapadasa*.
176. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p.14.
177. *JRAS*, 1871, p.85.
178. *Cambridge History of India*, 1, pp.315-6.
179. *Periplus*, 47, 254, 278.
180. *CAGI*, pp.100-101.
181. *SI*, I, p.172, line 11.

182. This is not mentioned by Fleet.
183. *CAGI*, pp.565-68.
184. *JASB*, X, p.668.
185. *CII*, III, p.141, v.I.
186. "An Ancient People of Punjab, the Udumbaras", *Indian Studies: Past and Present*, Vol.I, No.4, pp.720 ff.
187. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, I.124-21, Kārṇaparva, Chs.43 ff; VIII.45-23; V-39.79.
188. For different views, vide Padma Mishra, "Vāhika and Bāhlika" *IC*, VIII (1941-42), pp.85-89; K.D. Bajpai, "Identification of Vaṅga and Bāhlika in Mehrauli Pillar Inscription," *Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp.355-61.
189. *Periplus*, pp.37-39.
190. *Ptolemy*, pp.146, 148.
191. *IC*, 1, p.389.
192. *Historical Geography*, p.70.
193. *JRAS*, 1871, p.82, fn.3.
194. *EL*, IV, pp. 245, 248 line 9.
195. *JRAS*, 1871, p.57, fn.2.
196. *Vedic Index*, 1, pp.95-6.
197. Not mentioned by Fleet.
198. It may be the same as Kārdaraṅga, also called Karmaraṅga, an island of Indonesia.
199. *Vedic Index*, I, p.144.
200. Raychaudhuri (*PHAI*, p.485, fn.5) thinks that Ariake of the *Periplus* may be the same as our Āryaka.
201. *Historical Geography*, p.73.
202. *Periplus*, pp.47, 253-54, 278.
203. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Colas*, I, p.22.
204. *EL*, VI, p.6 line 14.
205. *Ptolemy*, pp.64-5, 185-6.
206. Wilson, *Essays*, pp.51-70.
207. Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, II, pp.304 ff.
208. *Dey*, p.53.

209. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, II, p.435.
210. *Ibid.*, I, p.47; II, p.431.
211. *Dey*, p.54.
212. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.26, fn.2.
213. *JRAS*, 1871, p.84, fn.7.
214. *Ibid.*
215. *Ptolemy*, pp.115-6.
216. *EI*, XIV, p.7, text line 3.
217. D.C. Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.113.
218. *Dey*, p.63.
219. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p.III.
220. *JRAS*, 1871, p.87, fn.4.
221. Cf. *Amara*, II, 3,20.
222. *PHAI*, pp.145-6; Sircar, *op.cit.*, p.35. fn.4.
223. *JRAS*, 1871, p.85, fn.3.
224. *CASR*, V.p.79.
225. Utpala distinguishes Sitas and Śvetas from the Hūṇas.
226. *CII*, III, p.56, line 15.
227. *Yuan Chwang*, I, pp.288-89.
228. *PHAI*, p.596.
229. *CII*, III, pp.92-3.
230. *CII*, III, p.206.
231. *EI*, XX, pp.1. ff.
232. *JUPHS*, XV, Pt.II, text-line 77, pp.29, 46. Levi identifies Jaṭāpura with the city of Jāṭs referred to as Jarta by Candragomin. It is interesting to note that Varāhamihira places Jaṭāsura, Darada and Kāśmīra in the same division, i.e. north-east. Similarly they are mentioned in close association in *Mahāmāyūrī* indicating that they were situated closeby.
233. *CAGI*, p.188.
234. R.E. XIII; *SI*, I, p.37.
235. *Ibid.*, pp.41, 46.

236. *El*, XX, p.79.
237. *El*, IV, p.187.
238. *Yuan Chwang*, II, pp.193 ff.
239. *PHAI*, p.88.
240. *Yuan Chwang*, I, p.284.
241. *CAGI*, p.148.
242. *PHAI*, pp.148-9.
243. Jayachandra Vidyalankar, *Bhāratabhūmi aura usake Nivāsī*, pp.297-303; *All India Oriental Conference, Proceedings*, Patna Session, p.109. For a long-drawn controversy on the identification of Kamboja see, *Purāṇa*, V, pp.160-81, 355-59; VI pp.221-29, 207-14, 215-20.
244. *Dey*, p.88.
245. This name is omitted by Fleet.
246. Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.30, fn.2.
247. *CII*, III, p.7, line 19.
248. Stein, *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, p.430; *Rājatarāṅginī*, I, pp.47-48n; *Dey*, p.99.
249. *El*, I, p.97, IV, p.246; *CII*, IV, pp.255, 313, etc.
250. *IA*, XVII, pp.7 ff.
251. *Periplus*, pp.47, 253-4.
252. *Ptolemy*, pp.192 ff.
253. *CII*, III, p.7, line 19.
254. D.R.Patil, *op.cit.*, p.293.
255. *CII*, III, p.7, line 19.
256. *El*, XV, pp.130 ff.
257. *JUPHS*, Vol.XV, Pt.II, p.44.
258. Fleet mentions Kravyāśin instead of Kravyāda.
259. The statement of B.C. Law that *BS* locates Kukuras in Western India (*Historical Geography*, p.287) is incorrect.
260. *SI*, I, p.172, line 11.
261. *Ibid.*, p.196, line 2.
262. Not mentioned by Fleet.

263. *Ptolemy*, p.109.
264. *Yuan Chwang*, I, p.298.
265. Cf. *IHQ*, 1946, pp.309-15; 1947, pp.320-22.
266. For other references to Kunti, cf. *Mahābhārata*, II, 14.26, 27; VI.9.40-3.
267. Also cf. *ibid.*, III, 83-4.
268. Cf. *ibid.*, Ādiparvaṇ, 222.14; Vanaparvaṇ, 5.3
269. *Ptolemy*, pp.305, 326.
270. *IA*, XXII, p.183.
271. *Ptolemy*, pp.38, 153 f.
272. *Alberuni*, I, p.205.
273. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Kaṇaparvaṇ*, 44-17.
274. Cf. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII.14.
275. *EI*, VI, p.6, line 12, v.25.
276. *Collected Works*, III, pp.13-4.
277. *JRAS*, 1911, pp.810, 814.
278. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1924*, p.98; D.C. Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan*, p.393.
279. *JNSI*, XI, pp.1 ff. But *contra* D.C. Sircar in *EI*, XXXV, pp.69-74.
280. *IA*, XXII, p.184.
281. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol.I, p.336.
282. *ASWI*, IV, p.99.
283. *CII*, III, p.8, line 22.
284. They may be identified with the people Madavika known from an early copper coin whose find-spot has not been recorded. Cf. *JNSI*, IV, pp.21-2. Māṇḍavi of the *Mahāmāyūri* (line 54) which is sometimes identified with Mandawar, 8 miles north of Bijnor (*JUPHS*, XV, p.43n), or Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor near Jodhpur) (*EI*, XVIII, pp.87ff.) may have been their chief town.
285. *Dey*, p.127.
286. *JRAS*, 1870, p.453, fn.2. The statement of Kern that Utpala takes it to be one word is incorrect.
287. *Dey*, p.128.
288. *JRAS*, 1871, p.83, fn.1.

289. *IA*, XXII, p.185.
290. In the Allahabad pillar inscr., it is mentioned as one of the kingdoms on the boundary of Samudra Gupta's empire. Cf. *CII*, III, p.8, line 22.
291. Cf. *Mahābārata*, II, 51-24, where Nīpas are associated with the Anūpas.
292. The statement of B.C. Law that *BS*, XIV, 10 places a Niṣāda settlement in the east is incorrect.
293. *Vedic Index*, I, p.454.
294. Probably in the western Vindhya and Aravalli hills.
295. *SI*, I, p.172, line 11. The date, however, refers to the bursting of the dam and the inscriptions must have been put up a few years later.
296. Junagadh inscr. of Rudradāman I (*ibid.*, I, p.174, line 19. Rudradāman I appointed Pahlava Suviśākha, the son of Kulaipa, as governor of Ānartta and Surāṣṭra); Sātakarṇi is described as the extirpator of Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, cf. *cf. SI*, p.197.
297. *CII*, III, p.298.
298. Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p.115.
299. *Ptolemy*, pp.59, 183-4.
300. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp.36-38.
301. *IA*, XXII, p.187; *JUPHS* XV, Pt.II, p.47.
302. *Ibid.* Vide also Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa*, p.35.
303. Not mentioned by Fleet.
304. *JRAS*, 1871, p.83, fn.4.
305. *Ptolemy*, p.160.
306. *Ibid.*
307. *JRAS*, 1871, p.86, fn.4.
308. *JRAS*, 1900, p.25.
309. *EI*, XII, pp.37 ff.
310. *Abhidhāna-cintāmani*, IV.22.
311. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, p.321 and note.
312. *Historical Geography*, p.117.
313. *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, pp.316, 335, 338 and notes.
314. *EI*, XXI, p.126.

315. *Ptolemy*, p.160.
316. *El*, XXI, p.85, Cf. P.C. Sen "Puṇḍravardhana," *IHQ*, IX, pp.722-35.
317. *JRAS*, 1910, p.446. Also cf.*El*, XXVI, p.151. For epigraphical references to Purikā see *Lüders' List*, Nos. 782, 812, 837, 838, 839.
318. *JRAS*, 1870, p.453, fn.3.
319. Mc Crindle identifies Xathroi with the Kṣatri (Kṣatriyas) of Sanskrit literature, cf. *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p.156 note.
320. Allan, *BMC*, *AI*, p.cxxiii.
321. *JUPHS*, XV pp.II, pp.29, 49; *Journal Asiatique*, 1918, p.125.
322. D.C. Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.62, fn.2.
323. Cf.*Rāmāyaṇa* IV, 41-10; *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparvan, 9.64; Udyogaparvan, 4.18-9, Karṇaparvan, 8.20.
324. *ABORI*, XXV (1944), pp.167-68.
325. Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.31; *SI*, I, p.198, fn.3.
326. *Vide supra*, p.64.
327. *Matsya-purāṇa*, CXIV.46-8; *Vāyu-purāṇa*, XI.V.126; *PHAI*, p.93; also p.94, fn.1.
328. *CAGI*, p.583.
329. *IA*, VIII, p.279.
330. *JRAS*, 1871, p.85, fn.1.
331. e.g. *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, I.2.9.
332. Cf.Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p.55.
333. *CII*, III, p.8, line 22.
334. *CAGI*, p.576.
335. *JASB*, 1914, p.87.
336. *Ibid.*, 1915, pp.17-8.
337. *JASB*, 1914, p.88.
338. According to some, the Satiya of Asokan edicts corresponds to our Śāntika. *Vide PHAI*, p. 330, fn.2.
339. *JRAS*, 1871, p. 83, fn.5.
340. *IA*, XXII, p. 189.
341. *Ptolemy*, pp. 64, 65, 162, 185.
342. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 381-82.

343. *Jātaka* Nos. 527, 547; *Mehta*, p. 440.
344. *Ptolemy*, p. 142; *Dey*, p. 11.
345. *CASR*, VI, p. 196. For coins of Śibi Janapada from Nagari (ancient Madhyamikā) see, Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, p. cxxiii.
346. *El*, XVI, p. 16. It is evidently the same as Patañjali's Śivapura (*Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, IV. 2.104).
347. McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 232.
348. *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 235.
349. V.S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 50.
350. *Saindhavānām=iti, Sindhunāmā nadas=tasya paścimena Sindhudeśas=tatra bhavānām.*
351. *PHAI*, pp. 619-21.
352. This view is expressed by Jayachandra Vidyalankar (*JBORS*, XV, pp.47-63) and ably criticised by Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 618 ff.
353. *Dey*, p. 194.
354. *Ibid.*
355. McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 236.
356. *Dey*, p. 203.
357. *Raghuvamśa*, IV.35-36.
358. Kern reads *Śrūlika* but regards *Śūlika* as preferable (*JRAS*, 1871, p. 58, fn. I).
359. P.C. Bagchi, "Śūlikā, Cūlikā and Cūlika Paisāci," *JDL*, XXI, pp. 1-10.
360. *El*, XIV, p. 116, verse 13.
361. For the identification of the Śūlikas of Haraha inscr. with the Cālukyās, see *JDL*, XXI, pp. 1-10; *PHAI*, pp. 602-03.
362. For some epigraphic references, cf. *SI*, I, pp. 172, 174, 196; *CII*, III, p. 59. The author of the *Periplus* calls it Syrastrène (41).
363. *Ptolemy*, p. 198, Kern (*JRAS*, 1871, p. 86, fn. 5), however, remarks, 'in all likelihood a mythical land; with Ptolemy it is called Chryse (cf. Lassen, *Altert.* iii.242), which is not to be confounded with the real island and peninsula Chryse. The latter is held to be Malakka; the Golden Island, however, the existence of which is denied by Lassen (*Altert.* iii.247), but sufficiently attested not only by the Greeks, but also in *Kathāsaritsāgara* (X.54, 99; 56, 62; 57, 72; XVIII. 123, 110), cannot be but Sumatra, including perhaps, Java.'
364. *JUPHS*, XV, Pt. II, p. 38.
365. *Ptolemy*, pp. 210-11.

366. Not mentioned by Fleet.
367. *JRAS*, 1871, p. 84, fn. 3.
368. Dey, p. 204; *Ptolemy*, p. 184.
369. *CASR*, V. pp. 145, 148.
370. *El*, I, pp. 102, 116.
371. *Ptolemy*, p. 324.
372. Stein, *Rājatarāṅginī* I, p. 136; Dey, p. 207.
373. *Alberuni*, I, 300, 202, 205. Bazana is a conjectural reading (*ibid.*, II, p.392). Fleet (*IA*, XXII, p. 192) wrongly gives the distance from Kanauj to Bazana as twenty-eight *farasakh*.
374. *BMC*, *AI*, pp.cxli, 240, pl.XXXV, 16-17; *JNSI*, III, p. 47 f.
375. *CAGI*, p. 387 f.
376. S. K. Dikshit, "Uddehika and Bazana", *IC*, VII, pp.361-63.
377. *CAGI*, p. 733.
378. *BMC*, *AI*, Introduction, p. xxxvii.
379. Dey, p. 211.
380. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p.75.
381. Law, *Historical Geography*, p. 197.
382. *JASB*, LXVI (1897), p. 85; *CAGI*, p. 733.
383. S. N. Majumdar Sastri in *CAGI*, p. 730.
384. *JASB*, 1897, p. 85.
385. *JRAS*, 1871, p. 83 and note.
386. McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 156 note.
387. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, p. 312 note.
388. Dey, p. 27.
389. Cf. Motichandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies*, pp. 27-8, 31-2.
390. *JASB*, 1897, p. 89.
391. *JRAS*, 1871, p. 60, fn.2.
392. *Ibid.*, p. 231, fn. 1.
393. *CASR*, XIV, p. 114.

394. *SI*, I, p. 172, line 12.
395. *CII*, III, p. 8, l.22.
396. *SI*, I, p. 171, l.8; p. 197, l.5; *ASWI*, IV, pp.90-92, 92-116.
397. *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 57-8.
398. *JRAS*, 1871, p. 84, fn. 2.
399. *EI*, XIX, p.32.
400. *Periplus*, pp. 43, 201.
401. For place-names ending in *Prastha*, see Agrawala, *op.cit.*, p.67.
402. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 15; *Luders List*, No.797.
403. *Ibid.*, Nos. 264, 266, 295, 296, 373, 572.
404. *CAGI*, p. 407.
405. *Lüders' List* Nos. 234, 351.
406. *Ibid.*, Nos. 165, 166; *CII*, III, p.57.
407. *CAGI*, p. 188.
408. For Gonarda, see S. Levi (Engl. transl. by D. C. Sircar) in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, III (*Orientalia*), pp. 197-205; D.C. Sircar, *op.cit.*, pp. 206-16; *JAHS*, IX, pp. 1 ff.
409. Kern gives Hemakūṭya in his text, but in translation (*JRAS*, 1871, p. 83, fn. 2) prefers Hemakuṇḍya for 'Parāśara exhibits the same form.'
410. *IA*, XXII, p. 180.
411. Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, p. x, fn. 2; *IA*, XXII, p. 180. For a detailed discussion of history of Kāñchi, see T.V.Mahalingam, *Kāñchīpuram in south India*.
412. *EI*, XXVII, pp. 1 ff. Vide also my book *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, p. 97, n. 4.
413. *CASR*, II, p. 308.
414. *History of Nepal*, pp. 9, 154; *Dey*, under 'Kāñṭipuri'.
415. K.P. Jayasmal, *History of India*, pp. 29-30; H.V. Trivedi, *The Coins of the Nāgas of Padmāvalī*, p. xxxvi.
416. *IA*, XVII, pp. 184 n., 198; XXII, p. 180.
417. *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 182.
418. *Ibid.*, XIV, p.23.
419. *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 182, 193. Vellūra may be identified either with Karle which is

called Valuraka, Vāloraka and Valūraka in inscriptions (*Lüders' List*, Nos. 1099, 1100, 1109) or with Elur within the Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. Whether Vallūraka or Vallūra mentioned as the ancestral home of a ministerial family of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas in the Ghatotkacha cave inscription of the time of Hariṣeṇa (V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas*, CII, V, pp. 115ff.) had anything to do with Vellūra is beyond the extant evidence. Mirashi identifies Vallūra with the village of Velur in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. There is yet another place called Walur in the Pathri taluk of the Parbhani district of Maharashtra.

420. *JRAS*, 1871, p. 83, fn. 9.
421. *Periplus*, pp. 44, 205.
422. *Ptolemy*, p. 51.
423. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
424. *ASWI*, IV, pp. 89, 98.
425. *Periplus*, pp. 44, 46, 234. But Schoff (p. 234) remarks, 'Paralia, to the author of the *Periplus*, is the coast-line below the Travancore backwaters, around Cape Comorin, and as far as Adam's Bridge : comprised within the modern districts of Travancore and Tinnevely.'
426. *Ptolemy*, pp. 54, 64.
427. *Lüders' List*, No. 1131.
428. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 20.
429. *CAGI*, pp. 142-44; *Trubner's Oriental Records*, No. 249, p. 6. M. Vivien de St. Martin had identified it with the town of Sangahi, near Jhelum (*CAGI*, p. 143).
430. *EI*, IV, p. 144.
431. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 4.
432. *Ibid.*, p. 37; N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 19.
433. *CAGI*, p. 167.
434. *Ibid.*, pp. 395 ff. But cf. *Watters*, I, pp. 317-18.
435. *Periplus*, pp. 43, 197.
436. *Ptolemy*, p. 40.
437. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 511; *Dey*, p. 204; *Ptolemy*, p. 158.
438. *IA*, XXII, p. 191.
439. For a detailed discussion of the role of Tripurī in ancient Indian life, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Tripurī* (Hindi), Bhopal, 1971.

440. *IA*, XLIX, p. 114; *EI*, XXVI, pp. 115 ff. Hemacandra in his *Puriṣiṣṭa-parvan* (XII 2-3) locates Tumbavana in Avantideśa. Excavations at Tumain have yielded important archaeological remains.
441. *Lüders' List*, Nos.201, 202, 449, 450, 520.
442. *Dey*, pp. 208, 211.
443. *JRAS*, 1955, pp. 25-28.
444. *JUPHS*, XV, pp. II, p. 43n,
445. *JRAS*, 1871, p. 84, fn. 5.
446. *JRAS*, 1871, p. 58, fn. 2. (on IX.15).
447. *IA*, XXII, p. 192.
448. *IA*, XXII, p. 193.
449. The verse in question is not included in his edition by Sudhakara Dvivedi and the absence of commentary thereupon would suggest it to be a later interpolation.
450. *IA*, XXII, p. 194.
451. *JRAS*, 1871, p. 86, fn. 2.

Section I : Vedic-Paurāṇic Religion

127-78

Pantheon: Vedic Gods - Indra ; Indramaha ; Varuṇa ; Prajāpati-Brahmā; Viṣṇu ; Śiva ; Pāśupata (Sect) ; Kāṇḍika (Sect) ; Sūrya ; Agni ; Yama; Kubera ; Other Gods: Post-Vedic Gods: Vaiṣṇava Gods - Baladeva ; Pradyumna ; Śāmba; Śaiva Gods - Gaṇeśa ; Skanda *versus* Viśākha ; Saura God - Revanta ; Goddesses - Divine Mothers ; Ekānamśā; *Gaṇa-devatās* or Groups of Divinities ; Lokapālas ; Demi-gods (*Devayonis*) ; Demonology ; Navagrahas, Nakṣatras and Divisions of Time ; Sages ; Other Objects of Worship ; Ceremonials and Practices—Sacrifices ; Sacrifices Named ; Altar ; Fires ; Omens from Fire (*Agni-nimittas*) ; Oblations ; The Priest; Image-worship - Consecration and Installation ; Shrines in Individual Houses; Articles used in Worship ; Music and Dance ; *Daivata-yātrā* ; *Śāntis*; *Nirājana* ; *Puṣya-snāna* ; *Koṭihoma* ; *Samskāras* ; Other Practices—*Śrāddha*; *Tīrthayātrā* (Pilgrimage) ; *Upayācitāka* ; *Kīrtana* ; *Vratas* ; Black Magic.

Section II : Non-Vedic Sects

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Buddhism ; Jainism ; Ājīvikas.

Notes and References

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Varāhamihira's works furnish us with an immensely rich store of data which may be profitably utilised in reconstructing a comprehensive account of the religious conditions obtaining during his age. It was a period of marked upheaval in the religious outlook of the people. Although heterodox sects like Buddhism and Jainism continued to find favour with certain sections of society, there was a decided diminution in their importance. Brāhmaṇism was in the ascendant; but it fundamentally differed from its Vedic counterpart. Some of the Vedic gods disappeared altogether, and those that still retained their existence underwent great transformation in regard to their nature and attributes. Whereas the major

Vedic deities like Indra, Varuṇa and Agni were relegated to a much inferior status, Viṣṇu and Rudra-Śiva, who hardly played any significant role in the Vedic pantheon, emerged into pre-eminence and claimed amongst themselves the religious affiliation of the masses. Although the link with the Vedas was not altogether severed and Vedic sacrifices, especially of a politico-religious nature, continued to be celebrated with great zeal, image-worship and similar other observances enjoyed much greater popularity. In the following pages we shall try to scrutinise our evidence with a view to reconstruct a picture of the religious life of the people during our author's period.

I

VEDIC PAURĀNIC RELIGION

A. PANTHEON

Vedic Gods

INDRA

Indra,¹ variously referred to as Śakra², Mahendra³, Maghavan⁴, Puruhūta⁵ and Sahasrākṣa (XLVII.9) or Sahasra-cakṣuṣ⁶ (XLII.58), was the greatest god of the Vedic pantheon and his exploits are celebrated in about 250 hymns of the *R̥gveda*.⁷ In theory his supremacy was retained even after the advent of the *bhakti* cult. Thus he was regarded as the overlord of gods and as such received several secondary epithets such as *surapati* (XXXII.7, 16; LXXXV.75), *sureśa* (XLII.55), *amarapa* (XII.12; XLII.8), *amararāt* (XLII.7), *devarāja* (XLII.18), *devarāt* (XXXII.27), *vibudhādhipati* (LII.47) and *animiṣa-bhartṛ* (XLII.60). Some of his exploits are also alluded to. The killing of the demons Vṛtra, Bala and Pura is implied by his epithets Vṛtrahan (XLII.55), Balabhid (VIII.23; XLII.67; YY, IV.29) and Purandara (XV.14; XLII.24) respectively. The popularity of the belief that by performing one hundred horse-sacrifices one attains to the status of Indra is indicated by his style Śatamanyu (XLII.54).⁸ Elsewhere, he is represented as surrounded by gods who had vanquished their foes (XLIII.26). He was believed to cause an earthquake in the 3rd part of the day (XXXII.7) and a red halo round the moon and sun (XXXIV.2). He is also described as the presiding deity of the eastern quarter (LIII.3; LXXXV.75), the 3rd quinquennial period of the Jovian cycle of

60 years (VIII.23), certain kinds of diamonds (LXXIX.8) and pearls (LXXX.7), the constellation of Jyeshthā (XCVII.5), the 7th lunar day (XCVIII.1), and the *karaṇa* named Vava (XCIX.1). He was regarded as the god of rain⁹ and is said to have chopped off the wings of the mountains and made them stationary.¹⁰ We are told that he was consecrated in former times with a ceremonial ablution by numerous gods, goddesses, demi-gods, seers and others (XLVII.55-70).

Indra retains his former association with Agni and in their joint capacity they preside over the 10th *yuga* of the 60-year cycle and the constellation of Viśākha.¹¹

The Paurāṇic legends concerning Indra's family appear to have enjoyed considerable popularity. Mention is made of his mother, wife, son (Jayanta) and daughters.¹²

Turning to the other side of the picture, we find that in practice he was surpassed in importance by his quondam juniors, Viṣṇu and Śiva and even by the new personal god Brahmā. Thus it is at Brahmā's instance that he is said to have cut off the wings of the mountains. When overpowered by Asuras in war, he has to beseech Viṣṇu and seek his help in vanquishing them (XLII.2-7). But in spite of the subsidiary position ascribed to him there was no dearth of his devotees (*Purandarabhakta*, XV.14)¹³ It must, however, be noted that while priests qualified to instal the images of various gods are named in the Pratimā-pratiṣṭhāpanādhyāya (Ch. LIX), there is no reference to the consecration of Indra's image. It indicates that Indra was worshipped only as a Lokāpala and that there were no temples dedicated to him.

In a couplet devoted to his iconographic features, we are told that the elephant (mount) of Mahendra is white and four-tusked; (he) holds *vajra* (thunderbolt) in his hand, and a horizontally placed third eye on the forehead is (his) cognizance.¹⁴ The Buddhist god Śakra who corresponds to our Indra and accompanies Buddha in the Gandhāra and Mathurā art constantly holds a *vajra*.¹⁵ Particular reference should be made in this connection to a late Gupta grey sandstone relief from Paharpur depicting the two-armed god holding an indistinct object, probably *vajra*, in his right hand; the third eye is placed horizontally on the forehead and his elephant mount is shown standing behind him¹⁶ (Fig.1). Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit who regarded the third eye 'as a peculiar feature' was evidently unaware of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* description noticed here. In a Mathura stone

head of the 6th century AD the third eye is indicated horizontally. The head belonged to an image of Indra, and not to that of Viṣṇu as is hitherto wrongly supposed.

INDRAMAHA

It will not be quite out of place here to give a brief description of a festival in Indra's honour celebrated mainly by kings from very ancient times. It consisted in the raising of and bidding farewell to Indra's flag. The festival began on the 8th of the bright half of Bhādrapada and ended on the 1st of the dark half of the same month.¹⁷ It is mentioned in the *Kauśika Sūtra* (140), and *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (I.14)¹⁸ and briefly described in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁹ and other works.²⁰ It is called *Śakrotsava* and *Indramaha* in the *Mahābhārata*²¹ and *Indradhvaja-sampad* and *maha*²² in our work which contains by far the most elaborate treatment of this topic in Ch. 42 contents whereof are summarised below.

When unable to defeat the Asuras in war, the gods headed by Indra went on Brahmā's advice to Viṣṇu, who, besought by them, was pleased to give Indra a flag which enabled him to overpower his foes. Indra in his turn gave a bamboo flagstaff to the Cedi king Vasu Uparicara who worshipped it duly and thus started the festival.²³ The first act in this connection was procuring suitable timber. For this purpose a carpenter accompanied by an astrologer went to the forest at an auspicious time. The timber of *arjuna*, *ajakarṇa*, *priyaka*, *dhava* and *udumbara* is said to be the best.²⁴ According to a couplet from Garga cited by Utpala this selection was to be done on the first day of Bhādrapada.²⁵ After the selection was over, a Brāhmaṇa went to the forest in night and made offerings (*balī*) to the spirits (*bhūtas*) haunting the tree in question²⁶; it was cut down the next morning²⁷; the tree-trunk was to be chopped off at the top to the extent of 4 *aṅgulas* and 8 *aṅgulas* at the bottom, put into water, taken out, covered with new cloths and decked with garlands, perfumes and incense; and then on the 8th of the bright half of Bhādrapada brought by cart or men to the town adorned with attractive banners, arched gates, garlands, clean thorough-fares, well-attired courtesans and beautifully decorated shops, resounding with *puṇyāha*²⁸ and the chanting of Vedic *mantras*, and with cross-roads crowded by acrobats, dancers and songsters and to the accompaniment of the sounds of conches and other musical instruments. It was again chiselled and ceremoniously fixed into a pedestal (*yantra*); the king ordered a vigil on the 11th night of the bright half

of Bhādrapada; the priest offered a sacrifice and the astrologer interpreted omens.²⁹ Next Brāhmaṇas were fed and the staff raised on the 12th day, whether the moon be in the constellation of Śravaṇa or not³⁰; near it were to be placed five or seven smaller staffs called Śakra-kumārīs; of these, those named Nandā and Upanandā respectively were to be 1/4th and a half less in height than the main staff; Jaya and Vijaya taller than Nandā and Upanandā respectively by a 16th and the two Vasundharās taller than Jayā and Vijayā respectively by a 16th; the 7th named Śakra-janitrī was to be taller than the second Vasundharā by an eighth and placed in the centre.³¹ In order to keep the principal staff erect it was fastened with eight strong ropes in eight directions tied to the wooden pegs (*mātṛkās*) fixed in the ground on both sides of the staff; it was also adorned at the bottom with an arch which was fastened with tight nails (*argala*).³² Then on the full moon day of the same month the king fasting and reciting certain *mantras* decked it with thirteen ornaments said to have been given to it in former times by various gods, the first being 1/3rd of the flag in circumference and each of the succeeding ones being smaller than the preceding one by an eighth,³³ and with an umbrella, banners, mirrors, garlands of fruits,³⁴ crescent-shaped ornaments, multi-coloured garlands, bananas, sugar-cane pieces, toys shaped like the *vyālasimha*, windows (*gavākṣa*) and the Lokapāla images placed in their respective quarters. Thus decorated, the flag was again erected amidst the unceasing sounds of benedictory words, invocations and the chanting of Vedic hymns by Brāhmaṇas; and in the presence of the people bowing their heads in homage and invoking it with fruits, curds, clarified butter, fried rice, honey and flowers the staff was raised in such a manner as to point to the enemy's town with its top, for it was believed to spell enemy's ruin. Great care was taken in raising it and *śāntis* observed to mitigate procedural mistakes. It was worshipped and erected in this manner for four days and was taken down on the fifth day.³⁵

The festival was indeed a great occasion in the cultural life of the people and was marked by important events. Bharata (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, I.54) speaks of it as an occasion eminently suitable for great dramatic performances. As Viṣṇu was regarded as younger brother of Indra, in course of time the festival came to be connected with Viṣṇu also and it was believed that, along with Mahendra, Upendra was also worshipped on the occasion (*Harivamśa*, II.19.59). It also got associated with Śiva, and, according to the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi, Ch. 27), he was worshipped on the occasion in the form of his laughter.³⁶

VARUṆA

In the *R̥gveda* Varuṇa along with Indra was the greatest of gods and was regarded as the upholder of physical and moral order and as regulator of waters. But as early as the time of the *Atharvaveda* he was divested of his greatness, except as controller of waters.³⁷ In the later Hindu pantheon, he sank to the position of an Indian Neptune. Varāhamihira represents him as the presiding deity of an earthquake in the fourth part of the day, slightly white halo round the sun or the moon, an eclipse, certain kinds of diamonds and pearls and the constellation of Śatabhiṣaj.³⁸ Twenty-two comets called Kaṅka are said to be his sons (XI.26) and so is the sage Agastya (XII.13). But he was best known as the guardian deity of the western quarter³⁹ and as the lord of waters. The latter attribute gave him such epithets as *ambupati* and *jeleśvara*.⁴⁰ It was again in this capacity that he received worship to ward off the evil outcomes of a portent relating to water, and *bali* was offered to him at the commencement of digging a well.⁴¹

Varuṇa, says our author, rides a swan and holds a noose (*hams-ārūḍhaś = ca pāśa-bhṛd = Varuṇaḥ*⁴², LVII.57). An exact sculptural parallel answering this description is found at the Harihara temple No.1 at Osian dating from about 8th century AD. It shows the god seated on a goose and holding a noose in his right hand (Fig.2).^{42a} Reference may be made to a side-piece from the Rajarani temple at Bhuvaneshwar depicting the two-armed god standing on a crocodile and holding a looped noose by its end in the right hand, the left one being in the *varada-mudrā* (Fig.3).⁴³

PRAJĀPATI BRAHMĀ

Already in the 10th *maṇḍala* of the *R̥gveda*, Prajāpati is celebrated as the creator of the heaven and earth, waters and all life and as the one lord of all that exists. In the later Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas he is recognised as the supreme god who created gods as well as demons.⁴⁴ But as early as the time of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (III.4) we find him identified with the personal god Brahmā, the first member of the well-known Hindu trinity of gods (*trimūrti*). Varāhamihira employs these two names as synonymous.⁴⁵ He was regarded as self-born, creator of the universe, first among the sages and as the grandfather of the mankind and as such is called Svayambhū⁴⁶, Dhātr and Viśva-kṛt,⁴⁷ Prathama-muni⁴⁸ and Pitāmaha.⁴⁹

He is represented as causing a green halo round the sun or the moon and as presiding over an eclipse, the fourth year of the quinquennial *yuga*, the 5th year of the 1st *yuga*, the asterism Rohiṇī, the first lunar day of a fortnight (*pratipad*), and the *karaṇa* called Vālava.⁵⁰ The comets named Brahmadaṇḍa, Gaṇaka and Caturaśra are said to be his sons (XI.15, 25). Curiously enough the weighing balance is called his daughter (XXVI.5).

He was considered to be the first exponent of every science, astrology being no exception. Our author claims to have consulted his work on this subject (I.2-5).

He is represented as the chief of gods and Indra is made to obey him (XXXII.3-6);⁵¹ he is always solicitous of the welfare of gods; he is said to have taught *Puṣya-śānti* to Bṛhaspati for the sake of Indra (XLVII.2). The heavenly abode of Brahmā (*Dhātṛbhavana* LXXIII. 18, 19; *Brahma-loka* II.12), which was the goal of the spiritual aspirations of the god-fearing people, is said to be inhabited, among others, by gods, sages, Sidhhas, bards and manes (LXXIII.19).

The Paurāṇic legend that as a result of a boon granted by Brahmā, Rāhu appropriates a share of sacrifices and gifts offered at the time of an eclipse is referred to (V.2, 14).

Brahmā seems to have enjoyed considerable importance and we have a reference to temples dedicated to him (*Brahmāyatana*, XXXIII.22). In later Hindu pantheon Brahmā was the most prominent representative of Vedicism which had lost much of its importance. This is confirmed by the fact that his images could be consecrated only by Brāhmāṇas learned in the Vedas (LIX.19 and comm.).

Varāhamihira seems to be conscious of the concept of the triumvirate of gods as is evident from the mention of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra (Śiva) in their fixed order (XLVII.55). Although regarded as the first constituent of the triad, he was surpassed in importance by Viṣṇu and Śiva.⁵² He was now conceived as born from the mundane egg floating on cosmic waters (I.6) or from the lotus springing from Viṣṇu's navel in consequence of which he came to be called Kamalaja⁵³, Kamalayoni,⁵⁴ Padmodbhava and Paṅkaja-prabhava.⁵⁵ Many are the images illustrating this myth.⁵⁶ When gods are unable to meet their foes in battle, Brahmā is not in a position to come to their rescue and advises them to seek Viṣṇu's

help.⁵⁷ Moreover, only half a verse is allotted to the description of Brahmā's iconographic features, while even minor deities like Baladeva claim much more space.

We get very few details about his iconography: Brahmā has a water-vessel in his hand, is four-faced and seated on a lotus-seat (*Brahmā kamaṇḍalu-karaś=caturmukhaḥ pañcakaj-aśanasthaś=ca*, LVII. 41).⁵⁸ Curiously enough, no information is given about the number of his hands, the other objects held, his mount and consort. Two two-armed Kuṣāna stone figures from Mathura are worthy of special note for a unique arrangement of his heads: the difficulty of depicting the fourth head is overcome by placing three of them in one row, the fourth one being superimposed over the central head. In one of these images he holds a nectar vase (*amṛtaghaṭa*) in his left hand.⁵⁹ Mention must in this connection be made of a beautiful early Vākāṭaka figure of Brahmā carved out of sandstone in the round and completely answering our description. Found at the ancient site of Mandhal (Nagpur district) in course of excavations, it is seated with folded legs on a lotus seat and is two-handed and four-faced. Curiously, all the faces are devoid of beard and moustaches. The *jaṭā-bhāra* comprises of well-arranged hair-plaits in the form of headgear with a broad band at the lower end on the foreheads running throughout. The god is shown wearing *kṛṣṇājina* in the *yajñopavīta* style and a *raśanā* which is wound thrice showing a roap-like shape. The hands are unfortunately broken, but that the left held a *kamaṇḍalu* is clear as it still survives. The rear exhibits the hide of the deer, and the rear view of the *raśanā*, the lower garment and the lotus seat. For *kṛṣṇājina*, it shows the forepart of the animal, the head and the front legs, which are visible though faint. (Fig.4). A *caitya*-window at the Śiva temple at Bhumara contains a four-headed and four-armed figure of Brahmā seated on a lotus-seat; two of his four hands are broken, the remaining right and left ones holding a lotus with stalk and a staff respectively.⁶⁰ A stone relief from Aihole illustrates a beautiful three-faced (it being impossible to show the fourth back head in relief sculptures) and four-armed figure of Brahmā seated on lotus-petals; three of his hands carry a rosary, a noose, and a *kamaṇḍalu*, the left natural hand being shown in *varada-mudrā*.⁶¹

VIṢṆU

Viṣṇu was a solar deity in the Ṛgvedic pantheon and occupied quite an insignificant position in the hierarchy of gods. But with the advent of the *bhakti*

cult Viṣṇu lost his solar character and reappeared as one of the most important cult gods with an added splendour and vigour. Varāhamihira gives various names by which Viṣṇu⁶² was known in his time, viz., Nārāyaṇa,⁶³ Hari,⁶⁴ Keśava,⁶⁵ Mādhava, Madhusūdana, Govinda, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣikeśa, Dāmodara (CIV.14-5), Vāsudeva (LXVIII.32) and Kṛṣṇa (LVII.37). He is called *Bhagavat*⁶⁶ which name is also implied in the word *Bhāgavata* standing for the devotees of Viṣṇu. He is described as incomprehensible (*acintya*), peerless (*asama*), impartial (*sama*), unknowable to all beings (*sarvadehinām sūkṣmam*), the Supreme Soul (*paramātmān*), without beginning (*anādī*), without end (*avijñātaparyantam*), all-pervasive (Viṣṇu) and the God (*deva*, XLII.4-5). The undisputed supremacy enjoyed by Viṣṇu over all other gods with the sole exception of Śiva and Sūrya is apparent from the story of the gods overpowered by demons in war seeking his protection. The fact that while giving iconographic features of various gods Varāhamihira accords first place to Viṣṇu also points to the same conclusion. He, under various names, was believed to preside over the first *yuga* of the sixty-year cycle (VIII.21, 23, 26), diamonds of any shape (LXXIX.8), pearls resembling a lotus flower in colour (LXXX.7), the constellation of Śravaṇā (XCVII.5), the 3rd lunar day (XCVIII.1), all the twelve months of the year beginning with Mṛgaśīrṣa (CIV.14-5) and Mercury (*BJ*, II.5).

Some of the Paurāṇic legends relating to Viṣṇu are also noticed. Thus he is represented as having his abode in the milk-ocean (*kṣīroda*), as the consort of the goddess Śrī (*Śrīpati*, XLII.2-4) and as wearing yellow garments (XXIV.18). The myth regarding the lotus issuing from his navel giving birth to Brahmā is alluded to in names like Kamalanābha (XLIII.1), Abjanābha (LXVII.94), Padmanābha (CIV.15) and Padmadhana (*TY*, 1.2) and that of his killing the demon Madhu in Madhusūdana (CIV.14). The popular belief of Viṣṇu's slumber during the four months of the rainy season and his waking up in autumn is also recorded (XLIII.1).⁶⁷

Viṣṇuism was and is still indeed one of the two most prominent Vedic Paurāṇic sects which share between themselves the affiliation of larger strata of society. The commingling of the cults centring round the Vedic god Viṣṇu, the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa and the historic god Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa which culminated in sectarian Vaiṣṇavism was a *fait accompli* long prior to Varāhamihira.⁶⁸ It is amply evident from our work wherein the names Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa are employed to denote the same god. The account of the propitiation of Viṣṇu by gods is

immediately followed by the statement that Nārāyaṇa gave them a banner leading to victory over demons (XLII.3-5). After describing the iconographic features of Viṣṇu and Baladeva, Varāhamihira states that the goddess Ekānamśā should be placed between Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa (LVII.31-9). In these instances, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa evidently stand for one and the same god. Although the intrusion of the cowherd element is indicated by such names as Govinda and Dāmodara,⁶⁹ there is no reference to Kṛṣṇa's amorous dalliances with cowherdresses.

Varāhamihira refers to the followers of Viṣṇu cult as *Vaiṣṇava*⁷⁰ and *Bhāgavata*.⁷¹ Utpala explains *Bhāgavata* as *Bhagavad-bhakta* or *Vaiṣṇava* and *Vaiṣṇava* as *Viṣṇu-bhakta*.⁷² These technical sectarian titles were very popular among the votaries of Viṣṇu as is evident from their use in a large number of Gupta epigraphic records and coin-legends. Thus the Gupta emperors Candragupta II,⁷³ Kumāragupta I⁷⁴ and Skandagupta⁷⁵ style themselves as *Parama-Bhāgavata*, i.e., the most devout worshipper of the Divine one (Viṣṇu). Many other rulers and ordinary individuals are also styled as *Parama-Bhāgavata*,⁷⁶ *Bhāgavata*,⁷⁷ *Atyanta-Bhagavad-bhakta*⁷⁸ and *Parama-Vaiṣṇava*⁷⁹. There can be no doubt that the great popularity enjoyed by Viṣṇuism must have been at least partly due to its adoption and patronage by many powerful ruling families.

It has been pointed out by P.C. Bagchi that whatever connection Bhāgavatism might have had with the Pañcarātra in the beginning, in the Gupta period they became completely different from each other. The *caturvyūha* doctrine which formed one of the central tenets of the Pañcarātra, it is pointed out, is totally absent from Bhāgavatism which lays stress on the theory of *avatāravāda*.⁸⁰ It must be mentioned in this connection that Varāhamihira refers to at least three of the four *vyūhas*, viz., Viṣṇu (Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa), Baladeva (Saṅkarṣaṇa) and Pradyumna, and gives rules for making their images. The *Amarakoṣa* (I.1.20, 23-4, 25, 27) refers to all the four *vyūhas* including Aniruddha whose name is omitted by Varāhamihira. The joint worship of Kṛṣṇa, Baladeva and Ekānamśā is regarded by some as a modified form of *vyūhāvada*.⁸¹ Also it seems that the *vyūhavādins* could not escape from the influence of *avatāravāda*. Moreover, if we are to rely on Utpala, we cannot but be led to the conclusion that Vaiṣṇavas of all denominations worshipped Viṣṇu in the Pañcarātra mode. While dealing with the ceremony of the *Rūpasattra*, Varāhamihira states that one should worship Keśava according to the prescribed mode (*Keśava-pūjanam sua-vidhinā*, CIV.8) which

Utpala explains as the Pāñcarātra or Vedic manner (*svavidhinā ātmīya-vidhānena ...Vaiṣṇavyena Pāñcarātra-vihitena pūjākrameṇa Vaidikena vā*).⁸²

We learn from the Mora stone slab inscr. of the first century AD that the five Vṛṣṇi heroes, viz. Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Śāmba and Aniruddha, were apotheosised and worshipped in the Mathura region in the early centuries of the Christian era.⁸³ Although their cult, with the only exception of that of Vāsudeva, steadily declined, its continuation to some extent down to the Gupta age may be inferred from Varahāmiḥira's mention of the first four (LVII.31-40).

An important feature of Bhāgavatism during our period was the worship of Viṣṇu's *avatāras* or incarnatory forms. The lists of incarnations in the Purāṇas, the *Mahābhārata* and the Pāñcarātra-Saṁhitās diverge widely from one another regarding their number and names.⁸⁴ Our author mentions the following incarnations : Varāha (XLII.54), Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (LVII.37; LXVIII.32), Vāmana-Trivikrama (CIV.14) and Rāma, the son of Daśaratha (LVII.30). It must, however, be remembered that Varāhamihira nowhere describes them as *avatāras*. The Vāmana *avatāra* is already anticipated in the three strides of Viṣṇu so vividly described in the *R̥gveda* (I.155.5 etc.) and in the story of Viṣṇu the Dwarf growing so large as to encompass the whole earth and thereby securing it for the gods as narrated in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (I.2.5). Its popularity during the Gupta period is evidenced by the Junagadh rock inscr. of Skandagupta which refers to the story that Viṣṇu seized the goddess of fortune from Bali for the sake of Indra.⁸⁵ This story is also implied in Viṣṇu's appellations *Indrānuja* (Indra's younger brother) and *Upendra* found in Skandagupta's Bihar stone inscr. and Śīlāditya VII's Alina copperplate inscr.⁸⁶ respectively. The popularity of the Kṛṣṇa incarnation is proved by Kālidāsa's reference to Viṣṇu attired as a cowherd (*Barheṇ-eva sphurita-rucinā goṇa-veśasya Viṣṇoḥ*, *Meghadūta*, Pūrvamegha, verse 15), by Viṣṇu's association with Jāmbavatī, traditionally a wife of Kṛṣṇa, in the Tusham rock inscr. (*Jāmbavatī-vadan-āravind-orjhit-ālinā dānav-āṅganā-mukh-āmbhoja-lakṣmī-tuṣāreṇa Viṣṇunā*),⁸⁷ and by the description of Lakṣmi as Vāsudeva's consort in the Sarnath stone inscr. of Prakāṭāditya.⁸⁸ R. G. Bhandarkar and H. C. Raychaudhuri held that though Rāma, son of Daśaratha, was regarded as an *avatāra*, "there was no cult in his honour." The former went so far as to suggest that the cult of Rāma must have come into existence in about the eleventh century AD.⁸⁹ This opinion needs substantial modification in view of the facts stated below. A recently discovered fragmentary stone inscription from Fauṣāmbī datable to

about mid-second century AD refers to Rāma as Nārāyana and *Bhagavat* and records some pious act like installation of his image or erection of a temple dedicated to him. A plate of the Valkhā Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa describes Śesa-śayana Viṣṇu as one with the killer of the ten-headed demon (Rāvaṇa). This inscription is datable to mid-fourth century AD.⁹⁰ The Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā, who styles herself as *atyanta-bhagavad-bhaktā*, was a votary of *Bhagavat* Rāmagirisvāmin (probably an allusion to a Rāma temple at Rāmagiri, modern Ramtek, near Nagpur); Kalidāsa describes Viṣṇu's descent as Rāma for killing Rāvaṇa (*Raghuvamśa*, Canto X) and refers to Rāmagiri as marked by the footprints of Rāma (*Vandyaiḥ pumsām Raghupati=padair = aṅkitam mekhalāsu*, *Meghadūta*, Pūrva, 2); Varāhamihira states that the image of Rāma, son of Daśaratha, should be 120 *aṅgulas* high (LVII.30); some interesting stone slabs of the Gupta period depicting the story of Rāma have been recently discovered at Nachna in the Panna district of Madhya Pradesh; the scenes from the *Rāmayaṇa* are also to be found in the reliefs of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogadh.⁹¹ It may be casually noticed that Varāhamihira uses the word Rāma in the sense of 'three' (VIII.20), indicating his awareness of the three Rāmas, Paraśurāma, Dāśarathi Rāma and Balarāma. But we are not told that they were regarded as *avatāras*. By far the most popular incarnation was Varāha (Boar). It is anticipated in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (14.1.2) which states how Prajāpati in the form of a boar raised the earth from the bottom of the ocean. The *Taittirīya-āranyaka* represents the earth as having been raised from the waters by a hundred-armed black boar. In order to obtain the concept of the incarnation in question, we have only to transfer this function from Prajāpati to Viṣṇu.⁹² The popularity of this incarnation during the period under review is countenanced by references to Varāha's exploits in inscriptions⁹³ and literature⁹⁴ and by some beautiful and vigorous Varāha images found in different parts of the country.⁹⁵

The *Cokṣas* are described by Varāhamihira in connection with Śākunas (omens) as living in the south-western quarter, evidently with reference to Ujjayinī (BS, LXXXVII.43), a position supported by the extant epigraphic evidence as would be seen below. The word *cokṣa*, derived from the root *cukṣa* referred to in the Chātrādigaṇa of the *Dhātupāṭha* and literally meaning 'pure or clean', came to denote in later times a religious sect of ascetics affiliated to Bhāgavatism. Its first mention in this sense is met with in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (XVII.38) in connection with the language of dialogues, and is so understood by Abhinavagupta, the commentator. We get interesting glimpses of these ascetics in the *Padma-*

prābhṛtaka of Śūdraka and the *Pāda-tāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka (*Caturbhāṇī* ed. by Motichandra and V.S. Agrawala, with Hindi tr., and notes, Bombay, 1959, pp. 21-22 and 163-65). The former calls them Caukṣa and states that they avoided others' touch, while the latter, which also stresses this point, further informs us that they carried a staff and bowl (*kuṇḍikā*) and used to present lemons (*mātulūṅga*) to their teachers and the deity. The *Kuṭṭanīmata* (vv. 748-50) of Dāmodaragupta also alludes to them and their practices though without mentioning their sectarian designation (Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 72-74). They had a liberal religious attitude and worshipped non-Vaiṣṇavite deities also. Śūdraka and Dāmodaragupta represent them as worshipping Śiva. Bhaṭṭotpala (9th century AD) takes *cokṣa* to mean a wicked person (*cokṣo duṣṭa iti prasiddhaḥ*), evidently because of the bad reputation enjoyed by the *Cokṣas*. The evidence of Dāmodaragupta and Utpala perhaps indicates the prevalence of the sect in Kashmir, and perhaps, at Vārāṇasī during the early mediaeval period. One of the copper plate records of Bhulūṇḍa, Mahārāja of Valkhā in Central India, refers to the *Cokṣas* along with Pāsupatas and worshippers of other divinities and with the honorific Āryya prefixed to them, indicating that they had a respectable position till at least the Gupta period. The inscription further shows the presence of the sect around Bagh in Madhya Pradesh as well as in Gujarat where they are still present as Svāmi Nārāyaṇa sect and popularly known as Caukhalia. See S.P. Tewari, *Contributions of Sanskrit Inscriptions to Lexicography*, Delhi, 1987, pp.107-16.

Describing Viṣṇu's iconography, Varāhamihira states⁹⁶ that his breast should be marked with the sign *Śrivatsa* and adorned with the *Kaustubha* gem,⁹⁷ he should be yellowish green in complexion like a lin flower and clad in yellow garments, his face being placid; he wears *kuṇḍalas* and a *kirīṭa*, his neck, breast, shoulders and arms being full and fleshy; the worshipful god Viṣṇu may be represented eight-, four-, or two-armed. In the case of an eight-armed image, three of his right hands hold a sword, a mace and an arrow, the fourth being in the *śāntida* pose;⁹⁸ the hands on the left should carry a bow, shield (*khetaka*), discus and conch.⁹⁹ If he is intended to be four-armed, his right hands show a mace and *śāntida-mudrā*, while the left ones carry a conch and a discus. Of the two-armed image, the right hand should be shown in *śāntida-mudrā*, the left one holding a conch-shell. Two eight-armed images of Viṣṇu are preserved in the Mathura Museum (Nos. M.M. 1010;¹⁰⁰ M.M. 3550)¹⁰¹, but they are very much mutilated and the objects held in the remaining hands do not fully correspond to the above

description. A stone relief from Badami depicting the eight-armed god described as Vaikuṇṭha and reproduced by T. A. Gopinatha Rao on Plate LXXV of his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Vol. I, Part I, p. 256) is rightly taken as Viṣṇu by J.N. Banerjea. Here Viṣṇu shows in his four right hands a discus, an arrow, a mace and a sword, and in the three left ones a conch-shell, shield and a bow, the fourth one being in *kaṭihasta* pose. This partially corresponds to the description given by our author. As to the four-armed Viṣṇu V. S. Agrawala has shown that the earliest form is one in which he holds his right natural hand in the *abhaya-mudrā* (*śāntida* of Varāhamihira) and an *amṛtagata* in the left one, the extra hands carrying a *gadā* and a *cakra*, and that this form evolved from that of Bodhisattva Maitreya.¹⁰² The form next to be evolved was that described by our author, and some specimens illustrating our account are preserved in the Mathura Museum (Fig. 5).¹⁰³ The usual form with conch, wheel, mace and lotus evolved last and is illustrated by numerous specimens of the Gupta and subsequent periods hailing from different parts of the country. Two-armed statues of Viṣṇu are extremely rare. A two-armed colossal *sthānaka-mūrti* from Rupwas near Fatehpur Sikri, (U.P.) wrongly described as Buddha or Sūrya by Carlleyle and rightly regarded as Viṣṇu by J. N. Banerjea, carries in its two hands a conch and a disc.¹⁰⁴

ŚIVA

Śiva (IV.30; XLIX.2), also known as Hara (XLII.52), Rudra (XLV.6,10), Śaṅkara (LIII.3; LXXXV. 75), Śambhu (LVII.43; LIX.19), Īśa (XXXIV.2; LXXXIII. 20; XCVIII.1), Īśāna (XI.13, 17), Parameśvara (TY, 1.2), Trinayana (XLVII.77) and Trinetra¹⁰⁵ (BY, XVI.5), along with the last two gods makes up the Hindu Trinity. He is said to preside over the 5th year of the quinquennial *yuga* of the 60-year cycle (VIII.24), a variegated halo round the sun or the moon (XXXIV.2), the constellation of Ārdrā (XCVII.4), the *tithi ekādaśi* (XCVIII.1) and the north-eastern region (LIII.3; LXXXV.75). While defending women against the allegations levelled against them by men, Varāhamihira states that the whole world right from Brahmā to the minutest worm is based on the union of the male and female principles and illustrates it by telling us that the greed of having a look at a woman made even Śiva assume four faces.¹⁰⁶ Utpala explains this allusion by referring to the Paurāṇic legend that once the celestial nymph Tilottamā was circumambulating Śiva in whose lap was seated Pārvatī; Śiva, afraid of offending

Paṛvatī, created four faces in four quarters to look at the peerless beauty of the divine courtesan.¹⁰⁷ The myth that Śiva burnt Kāma, the god of love, to ashes is alluded to (*Hara-dagdha-mūrteḥ*, LXXVII.14). Mention is also made of Śiva's hosts called Pramathas (LV.15) or Ganas (LVIII.9-11). It was believed that any unnatural behaviour in the images of Rudra and other guarding deities of the quarters forebodes evil to the cattle, indicating Śiva's association with animals (XLV.10). Varāhamihira refers to temples dedicated to Rudra (XLV.6) and gives the mode of representing him in human as well as phallic form (*liṅga*).

The high antiquity of the representation and worship of Rudra-Śiva in both anthropomorphic and phallic forms is proved by the unimpeachable evidence of seals from Mohenjodaro and other sites and by the money minted by some early Indian and foreign rulers.¹⁰⁸ In later times, the *liṅga* was enshrined in the sanctum while his human representations were placed as accessories in different parts of the temple. Our author summarily describes his anthropomorphic form thus, 'Śambhu has a crescent¹⁰⁹ on his head, a bull for his ensign¹¹⁰ and a vertically placed third eye (on his forehead); (in his two hands) he holds a trident¹¹¹ and the bow called Pināka (*Śambhoḥ śiras-īndukalā vṛṣa-dhvaja=kṣi ca tṛtīyam api c-ordhvam śulam dhanuḥ pinākam*, LVII.43). Although all these emblems are well known and severally represented in plastic art, I am not aware of any image fully answering our description. Referring to his androgynous form, he further states that 'his half may consist of the half of the daughter of the mountain' (*vām-ārdhe vā girīsut—ārdham*, LVII.43). This motif is styled by Utpala as *Ardhagaūriśvara* which is the same as that popularly called *Ardhanārīśvara*. Several *Ardhanārīśvara* busts of the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta periods finished by the sculptors of Mathura have come down to us (Fig. 7).¹¹²

We get also some interesting details about the shape and proportions of the *liṅga*. Thus we are told, 'The periphery of the round (upper-most) portion of the *liṅga*, measured lengthwise, should be divided into three parts; the lowermost portion should be square, the middle one octagonal and above that circular. The square section must be placed in a hole dug out in the ground and the middle one (octagonal) into that (cut) in the pedestal (only the circular section being visible); (in diameter or extent) the pedestal on all the sides of the hole should be equal to the height of the visible (topmost cylindrical) section.¹¹³ A *liṅga* lean and long beyond proportion, shorn of its sides and injured at the top was supposed to spell ruin to the country, town and its master respectively.¹¹⁴

Its adoption and patronage by a number of rulers in different parts of the country gave Śaivism a fillip. We know from inscriptions that most of the Vākāṭaka kings,¹¹⁵ early Kalacuri kings, Kṛṣṇarāja, Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja,¹¹⁶ the Later Gupta chiefs Devagupta and Viṣṇugupta,¹¹⁷ Maukhari king Śarvavarman,¹¹⁸ *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja* Samudrasena of Punjab¹¹⁹ and most of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhi¹²⁰ were all devotees of Śiva and bore the sectarian title *Parama-Māheśvara*, i.e. devout worshipper of Maheśvara.

Pāśupata

While dealing with the installation of images, Varāhamihira lays down that the image of Śambhu must be consecrated by the ash-besmearing Brāhmanas (*Śambhoḥ sabhasma-dvijān*, LIX.19) whom the commentator takes to be the followers of the Pāśupata sect. He appears to be justified in view of the fact that besmearing the body with ashes thrice a day and sleeping on ashes was an important practice of the Pāśupatas.¹²¹ Yuan Chwang refers to them as ash-besemearing *tīrthikas*. Mathura was an important centre of the Pāśupata school in the Gupta period.¹²² The Pāśupatas attained some importance towards the close of the sixth century AD. The early Kalacuri king Kṛṣṇarāja and Anantamahāyī, queen of Buddharāja, were followers of the Pāśupata sect.¹²³ Yuan Chwang found large bodies of the Pāśupatas at Jālandhara, Ngo-hi-chita-lo (Ahicchatra) Malakūṭa (Tamil country), Malwa, Maheśvarapura, Lang-kie(ka)-lo, Bannu and Khotan.¹²⁴ Bhaṭṭotpala further states that Śiva images should be consecrated in accordance with the mode prescribed in the *Vātula-tantra* or some other *tantra* (*Vātula-tantra-okten-anyatantr-oktavidhinā vā Śambhoḥ*, on LIX.19). The *Vātulatantra* is no more extant.

Kāpālīka

Varāhamihira also refers to the Kāpālīkas (LXXXVI.22) who were so called because they used human skulls as receptacles of food and wore garlands of skulls. Utpala tells us that the Kāpālīkas were well-known ascetics (*Kāpālīkaḥ prasiddhas = tapasvī*), indicating their popularity and large number in his time. Vṛddha-Śrāvaka (L.20), literally meaning an old ascetic, denotes, according to Utpala, a Kāpālīka.¹²⁵ This sect appears to have attained some popularity in the Panjab and North-western India in the sixth and seventh centuries AD. The Mandasor stone inscr. of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuwardhana (AD 532) refers to Śiva

as wearing a chaplet of bones on his head.¹²⁶ A copper plate inscr. of Samudrasena (AD 612-13) found at Nirmand near the right bank of the Sutlej refers to a temple of Śiva under the name Kapāleśvara.¹²⁷ Mahendravarman's *Matta-vilāsa-prahasana* depicts the revelry of an innocent Kāpālīka whose *kapāla* was taken away by a dog. The ascetics wearing on their heads garlands of bones and skulls whom Yuan Chwang¹²⁸ saw at Kapiśā and other places were no doubt affiliated to this sect.

SŪRYA

Although the worship of the Sun-god had been in vogue in India from very early times, in northern India it underwent reorientation under the impact of the East Iranian Sun cult.¹²⁹ The story of the importation of the Persian form of the Sun worship is related in several Purāṇas, viz., *Bhaviṣya*, *Varāha*, *Śāmba*. We learn from the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*¹³⁰ that Śāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, got cured of leprosy by worshipping Sūrya, installed his image on a large temple at Mūlasthānapura¹³¹ (mod. Multan, probably so called because it was the original (*mūla*) centre (*sthāna*) of the introduction of the Iranian Sun cult) on the bank of the river Candrabhāgā (Chenab), and when no Brāhmaṇa priest was prepared to conduct Sun-worship in its new form, brought from Śākadvīpa (E. Iran) eighteen families of the Maga priests who are described as the sons of the Sun from Nikṣubhā, the daughter of Ṛgijhva or Sujihva. These Magas were none else than the fire and Sun-worshipping Magi priests of Iran. Alberuni (I.21)¹³² was fully aware of this identity when he wrote, "There are some Magians up to the present time in India where they are called Maga." The introduction of this reorientated form of the cult was a *fait accompli* by the Kuṣāṇa period when we find in Sūrya icons such alien features as a close-fitting waist-coat and Central Asian long boots which are in standing contrast to his earlier form at Bodh-Gaya where he is represented as wearing a *dhotī* and riding a four-horsed chariot. Its continuance in this alien form up to the late Gupta period is attested by Varāhamihira who, himself a Maga, lays down that the proper persons to instal a Sūrya image were Magas (LIX.19) and gives the following details about his icons¹³³ which also point to the same conclusion. "The nose, forehead, shanks, thighs, cheeks and breast of the Sun should be elevated; he should be attired in the Northerners' dress being covered from feet to the breast;¹³⁴ holding in his two arms two lotus flowers born of his own hands (i.e. by their stalks);¹³⁵ he wears a crown and his face

is adorned with ear-rings; he has a long necklace and the girdle called *viyadga* (Sanskritised form of the Persian name *Aiwiyaonghen* which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear) round his waist; he is covered by a *kañcuka*, his face being shown as possessing the lustre of the inside of a lotus, smiling and pleasant; he has a halo brilliant on account of gems; a Sun image fashioned in this manner confers blessings on its maker." *Kañcuka* is undoubtedly the long close-fitting coat found in *Sūrya* images, and the long boots, though not specified, are implied in the *udīcyaveṣa*. It is shown in many early *Sūrya* images including a Kuṣāṇa seated figure from Mathura (Fig. 7) and a Gupta figure from Kayatha (Fig. 8). Curiously enough, no details are given regarding *Sūrya*'s chariot, his charioteer Aruṇa, his attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala and his wives Uṣā and Pratyūṣā who are not infrequently represented in art. Many specimens of the Gupta age answering this description are preserved in the Mathura Museum.¹³⁶ Attention may also be invited to a stone relief of *Sūrya*, carved in a *caitya*-window of the Śiva temple at Bhumara, which shows the god with a tall cylindrical head-dress (*mukuta*) and a plain halo behind his head, holding lotus flowers in both of his hands raised up to shoulders, and wearing long coat (*kañcuka*) tied on the waist with a sash (*viyadga*) and long boots of soft leather. He is attended by two male figures, perhaps Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, similarly clad (Fig. 9).¹³⁷ It may be noticed here that in Kuṣāṇa art *Sūrya* is usually shown with a cluster of lotuses in the right hand and a dagger in the left and seated in a chariot drawn by two or four horses.¹³⁸ It is interesting to note that a verse of Kāśyapa, quoted in the commentary, gives us these features of the Kuṣāṇa art except for the chariot. Thus we are told that Āditya should be represented as youthful and lustrous, wearing a garland, *kirīṭa* and a mail and holding a sword and lotuses in his hands.¹³⁹

The Sun cult appears to have been very popular during our period. The Maitraka ruler Dharapatta¹⁴⁰, and the Puṣpabhūti rulers of Thanesar Rājyavardhana, Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana¹⁴¹ were *Paramāditya-bhaktas*, i.e. devout worshippers of the Sun. We learn from inscriptions of the existence of a number of Sun temples in different parts of North India in the Gupta and late Gupta times. We have references to the temples dedicated to *Sūrya* at Indor in the Bulandashahar district of U.P.¹⁴² and on the bank of the Tons to which jointly with a Viṣṇu temple the village of Āśramaka was granted.¹⁴³ The Gwalior inscr. of Mihirakula records the building of a Sun temple at Gopagiri, modern Gwalior.¹⁴⁴

The Deo-Baranark inscr. of Jīvitagupta II purports to record the grant of a village to the Sun under the name Varuṇavāsin.¹⁴⁵ The Mandasor stone inscr. of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman¹⁴⁶ informs us that a weavers' guild built a temple of Sūrya at Daśapura in AD 437-38 and repaired the same in AD 473-74. Its popularity in the region round Kanauj is testified to by Yuan Chwang who refers to a temple of the Sun god there.¹⁴⁷

The Sun, under various names, was believed to preside over the 2nd year of the quinquennial *yuga* (VIII.24), the constellation of Hasta (XCVII.4) and the *tithi dvādaśī* (XCVIII.1).

AGNI

Judging from the number of hymns dedicated to him, Agni was one of the first three deities of the Ṛgvedic pantheon, others being Indra and Soma¹⁴⁸. But the gradual decline in the popularity of Vedic sacrificial cult affected adversely the status of Agni in the hierarchy of gods and in the wake of Paurāṇic mythology he was relegated to the office of a Lokapāla. Varāhamihira refers to him by various names denoting fire, e.g., Agni¹⁴⁹, Dahana¹⁵⁰, Hutabhuj¹⁵¹, Hutavaha¹⁵², Hutāśa¹⁵³ and Anala¹⁵⁴. He is represented as presiding over an eclipse, a diamond resembling the *śṛṅgāṭaka* fruit and hued like a tiger's eye, a pearl having the lustre of smokeless fire or lotus, the constellation of Kṛttikā and the fourth *yuga* of the Jovian cycle and as causing quake in the 2nd part of the day.¹⁵⁵ He is said to be the father of 25 unnamed comets and of 120 comets called Viśvarūpa (XI.10-11, 23). He was regarded as one of the eight guardians of the quarters presiding over south-east (LIII.3; LXXXV.75) which came to be known as *Āgneyī*. As we have seen above, Agni retains his former association with Indra. Agni is described as seven-rayed (*saṁpta-marīci*, XLII.37) and as seven tongued (*saṁpta-jihva*, LXXIII.16). No other detail about his iconography is given. It is interesting to note that Agni is usually represented in sculpture with flames issuing from his body. Thus, for example, a Paharpur relief shows two armed Agni with seven flames emanating from his body on either side and holding a rosary and *kamaṇḍalu* in his right and left hands respectively (Fig. 10).¹⁵⁶

YAMA

Yama is also referred to by the patronymic Vaivasvata (XLII.52). He is described as causing an eclipse and a blue halo round the sun or moon and

as presiding over the southern quarter, the asterism Bharanī, *caturthī* and the *karāṇa* called Viṣṭi. Black colour is especially associated with him. Thus black diamonds shaped like serpent's mouth and black pearls are represented as belonging to him and he is said to have given a black ornament to Indra's banner.¹⁵⁷ Utpala styles him as 'the lord of manes' (*pitṛpati*).

As to his iconographic features, we are simply told that he holds a staff in his hand and rides a buffalo (*Daṇḍi Yamo mahiṣagaḥ*, LVII.57; cf. *prodyata-daṇḍa-hastam Yamam*, YY, VI.8).¹⁵⁸ Several are the images representing Yama with a staff or club, but no early Yama image with a buffalo is known so far. Thus in a medallion from the Śiva temple at Bhumara we see the god holding an indistinct round object in his right hand and a staff in the left and attended by a fly-whisk-bearing female attendant on either side; he is however, seated here on a throne or bedstead, not on a buffalo.¹⁵⁹ A beautiful image of Yama holding a staff and a buffalo standing behind him and dating from about 8th century AD is found at the Harihara temple No.2, at Osian (Fig. 11).^{159a} Some sculptures representing Yama riding a buffalo are found decorating some mediaeval temples in Orissa¹⁶⁰ (Fig. 12) and elsewhere.

KUBERA

Kubera, also called Vaiśravaṇa, is for the first time mentioned and connected with the Yakṣas (called Itarajana or Puṇyajana) and riches in a passage of the *Atharvaveda* (VIII.10.28). Our author associates him with the Yakṣas¹⁶¹ and refers to him as Dhanada (XXXIV.3; YY, VI.16), Dhaneśa (XLII.52) and Dhaneśvara (YY, XI.17), evidently in allusion to his overlordship of riches. He was believed to preside over an eclipse (V.19,21) and cause a halo coloured like peacock's neck round the sun or the moon (XXXIV.3). Usually he was regarded as a Lokapāla governing the northern quarter which was consequently known as *Kauberī* (XIII.1; XLVII.18; LXXXVI.25). But curiously enough in two verses of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (LIII.3; LXXXV.75) Varāhamihira accords this position to the moon-god. We shall have occasion to say more on this question subsequently.

His iconographic features are thus given : Kubera is pot-bellied, has a man for his mount and a *kirīṭa* (topped crown) is placed on his head slanting to his left (*Naravāhanaḥ Kubero vāmakirīṭi bṛhat-kukṣiḥ*, LVII.57). The *Yogāyatrā* (VI.16) mentions *gadā* as one of the emblems held by him. According to a variant reading

(*khara-vāhana*), his mount is a donkey. It is curious to note that in this sketchy description of Kubera's iconography, nothing is said about his purse, his *nidhis Śaṅkha and Padma*, and Hārīti, usually associated with him in contemporary art. Although no image of Kubera belonging to the Gupta period riding on a man has been noticed, a Bharhut relief depicts him (there called Kupiro) standing over a malformed man (perhaps a Yakṣa); he is slightly pot-bellied and his head-dress aslant on his left (Fig. 13). This figure, it would appear, fully answers the *Brhatsamhitā* description. Some Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa terracotta figurines of *naravāhana* Yakṣas and Yakṣīs are preserved in Mathura Museum. An exquisite sculptural representation of manriding *naravāhana* Kubera is found at Harihara temple No.2,^{161a} at Osian. (Fig. 14).

Other Gods

The details that we get about a few other Vedic gods may be noted here. The twin-gods Aśvins who, 'judged by the frequency with which they are invoked', were in importance next only to Indra, Agni and Soma in the Ṛgvedic pantheon,¹⁶² are referred to as presiding over the 11th quinquennial *yuga* of the Jovian cycle (VIII.23) and the constellation of Aśvinī (XCVII.4). The word *aśvin* is used to denote the numeral two (XCVII.1). They are described as physicians par excellence (*Aśvinau ca bhiṣagvarau*, XLVII.56). Viśvakarman heads the list of the gods who gave ornaments to *Indra-dhvaṇa* (XLII.42). There is a reference to the image of Viśvakarman (XLV.12), but no details about his iconography are given. In classical Sanskrit the word *bhaga* stands among other things for female genital organ and is synonymous with *yoni* and consequently the latter word is also used to denote the deity Bhaga. He is the presiding deity of the 12th quinquennial *yuga* of Jupiter's cycle (VIII.23) and of Pūrvā-Phalgunī (XCVII.4). Pūṣan, the lord of the asterism Revatī (XCVII.5), is one of the constituent deities of Vāstupuruṣa (LII.44). Aryaman presides over Uttarā-phalgunī (XCVII.4) and the *karaṇa* called Taitila (XCIX.1). Tvaṣṭṛ is associated with Sūrya.¹⁶³ He gave an ornament to Indra's banner and presides over the constellation of Citrā (XCVII.4). Mitra appears to be closely associated with Agni.¹⁶⁴ He presides over Anurādhā (XCVII.4) and Kaulava *karaṇa* (XCIX.1). Vāyu and other names of wind are used to denote both the physical phenomenon and the deity representing it. Thus the god is called Vāyu,¹⁶⁵ Pavana¹⁶⁶, Anila¹⁶⁷, Śvasana¹⁶⁸, Māruta¹⁶⁹ and Samīraṇa¹⁷⁰. He is the guardian of the north-western region (LIII.3; LXXXV.75), the presiding

deity of the asterism Svāti, the *karaṇa* called Kimstughna, an earthquake in the first part of the day and a dark halo round the sun and the moon. Seventy-seven comets named Aruṇa are said to be his sons. Sacrifices were offered to him in order to avert the evil effects of portents pertaining to rain and wind.¹⁷¹ Nirṛti occurs in the later Saṁhitās as a god of evil and in later times he was regarded as a Lokapāla protecting south-west.¹⁷² He is also said to preside over the constellation of Mūla (XCVII.5) and to cause a dove-coloured halo round the sun or moon (XXXIV.2). But the idea underlying the conception of Nirṛti underwent a fundamental change. He came to be deprived of his divinity and conceived as the lord of demons as is clearly stated by Utpala.¹⁷³ In some of the Purāṇas (e.g., *Viṣṇudharmottara*) Nirṛti is described as the 'wife of Virūpākṣa, the lord of the Rakṣas. Varāhamihira gives no details about his iconography but simply states that he should be carved on a piece of cloth (YY, VI.10).

Post-Vedic Gods

Vaiṣṇava gods

As we have seen above, there is reason to believe that in addition to Kṛṣṇa, four other Vṛṣṇi heroes—Baladeva (Saṅkaraṣaṇa), Pradyumna, Śāmba and Aniruddha—were also deified and worshipped independently in the early centuries of the Christian era. The first three of them are named by Varāhamihira.

BALADEVA

In the syncretic religion of the Bhāgavatas, Baladeva was closely associated with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa from the very beginning. This is evidenced by a number of epigraphic records which mention them together. Varāhamihira, who devotes one full couplet to the description of his icons, lays down that 'Baladeva should be depicted with a plough-share in his hand, eyes round and rolling owing to inebriety, and with one ear-ring, his complexion being as white as a conch-shell, lotus-stalk or the moon' (*Baladevo halapāṇir = mada-vibhrama-locanaś = ca kartavyaḥ, kuṇḍalam = ekaṁ bibhrat śaṅkh-endu—mṛṇāla-gauratanuḥ*, LVII.36). A two-armed figure of Baladeva of the Yakṣa type from Mathura, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum and generally regarded as 'the earliest Brāhmaṇical image', shows him standing under the canopy of serpent-hoods, wearing *kuṇḍala* only in the left ear and holding a *musala* (pestle) and a *hala* (plough-share) in his hands (Fig. 15).¹⁷⁴

In the Kuṣāṇa art, he is often represented as holding a drinking cup in one of his hands, evidently alluding to his addiction to wine.¹⁷⁵ A four-armed Balarāma image of the Gupta period is to be seen in the Mathura Museum (No. 1399). Reference must also be made to an early Balarāma image hailing from Tumain in the Guna district of Madhya Pradesh: it represents the god standing under the canopy formed by the seven hoods of the snake, holding *musala* and *hala* in his right and left hands respectively and wearing *kuṇḍalas* differing from one another in form, his eyes being shown rolling.¹⁷⁶ In later art, *hala* and *musala* are his constant emblems. A four-armed sandstone figure from Paharpur (late Gupta period) depicts him standing under the canopy of a six-hooded serpent, holding a plough in the upper left hand, a mace in the upper right and a drinking vessel (in which a female attendant on right is about to pour wine from a handled jug) in the lower right, the lower left hand resting on his thigh. The two *kuṇḍalas* he wears are of different designs, one being apparently of the conch-shell bangle and the other of the *makara-kuṇḍala* type (Fig. 16).¹⁷⁷ It seems that later artists modified the iconographic formula of showing Balarāma with only one *kuṇḍala* and represented him wearing *kuṇḍalas* in both the ears but of different shapes and materials.

Reference must also be made to a unique Narasimha panel from Kondamotu in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh dating from about third century AD which depicts the five *vyūhas* or emanations in their proper order. In this panel Baladeva is shown holding a mace in the right hand and a plough-share topped by a lion-head in the left and wearing *kuṇḍalas* in both the ears but differing in design. His facial expression and drooping eyes represent his inebriety (Fig. 17).¹⁷⁸

PRADYUMNA

He is simply described as carrying a bow and as being of comely form, probably because he was regarded as identical with Kāmadeva (*Pradyumnaś* = *cāpabhṛt surūpaś* = *ca*, LVII.40).¹⁷⁹ An almost complete corroboration of Vārāhamira's description is found in the above-mentioned Kondamotu panel where he is shown carrying a bow and arrow in the left and right hands respectively (Fig. 17). But the identification proposed by Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, is not correct in this as well as in some other cases.

SĀMBA

We have seen above the role that Śāmba played in introducing the new form of the solar cult. It was probably due to this reason that Śāmba was expelled from the galaxy of Brāhmaṇical gods¹⁸⁰ and his image is not described in most of the Purāṇas. But a Sun-worshipper as he was, Varāhamihira accords him the divine status due to him and lays down that he should be shown with a mace in his hand (*Śāmbaś = ca gadāhastah*, LVII.40). Utpala adds that he should be represented as two-armed (*dvibhuja*). Similar direction for making his image is contained in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* which adds that he should have a very comely appearance (BK, III, Ch. 85 : *Śāmbaḥ kārṇyo gadāhastah surūpaś = ca viśeṣataḥ*). No image that may be definitely said to be Śāmba's is known. But a Mathura sandstone figure of the Kuṣāṇa period holding a club in his right hand and a staff in the left and riding in a car which is taken to be Sūrya by A.K. Coomaraswamy¹⁸¹ is regarded by J.N. Banerjea as an image of Śāmba.¹⁸² Similarly, another image of the same period, holding a cup and a staff in his left and right hands respectively and flanked by two small female figures is a Bacchanalian Yākṣa according to Coomaraswamy¹⁸³ but Śāmba according to Banerjea.¹⁸⁴ The Kondamotu panel mentioned earlier shows Śāmba as two-armed, but he is holding a goblet in the right hand, while the left one is depicted in the well-known *kaṭi-hasta* pose. Goblet, which was an emblem of Balarāma, is given to Śāmba probably because he happened to be a dear pupil of the former (Fig. 17). The figure has been wrongly taken as that of Baladeva by Md. Abdul Waheed Khan who has wrongly identified some other figures in the panel as well.

Śaiva Gods**GAṆEŚA**

The genuineness of BS, LVII.58¹⁸⁵ which describes iconographic features of the lord of the Pramathas (*Pramathādhipa*), i.e., Gaṇeśa, is doubtful. It is not found in most of the manuscripts. Although Kern retains this couplet within parenthesis (Bibliotheca Indica ed. Ch. 58, v. 58), he suggests it to be in interpolation. It is included in V. S. Sastri's edition (Ch.58) which does not even bracket it. It is altogether omitted by Sudhakara Dvivedi. It may be pointed out that a lengthy quotation from Kāśyapa extracted by Utpala first describes the image of Vināyaka, i.e. Gaṇeśa.¹⁸⁶ But as this extract from Kāśyapa also describes

the icons of Vitastā, Narasimha, Varāha and Caṇḍikā not described by our author, the same cannot be taken to prove the authenticity of the verse in question. Be that as it may, Varahāmiḥira's knowledge of Gaṇeśa, however, can be inferred from the facts that at least once he mentions Vināyaka in singular (i.e, Gaṇapati, XLV.12) and pays obeisance to Gaṇeśa in the beginning of the *Tikaṇikayātrā* (I.2), probably because he had come to be regarded as the remover of obstacles. It will not be quite out of place here to make a cursory survey of the various vicissitudes through which this cult had to pass. The oldest authoritative account of the propitiation of the Vināyakas is to be found in the *Mānava-grhyasūtra* (II.14)¹⁸⁷ which gives their number as four, viz., Śālakaṭaṇkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana.¹⁸⁸ The *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (I.271) states that Vināyaka was appointed by Rudra and Brahmā as leader of the Gaṇas and assigned the function of removing obstacles in human acts. It mentions the above-mentioned four Vināyakas (Sammita for Usmita) but regards them as the four names of one Vināyaka who is described as the son of Ambikā¹⁸⁹ (*ibid.*, I.285). Thus the four Vināyakas of the *Mānavagrhya* are transformed into one Vināyaka-Gaṇapati. But R. G. Bhandarkar¹⁹⁰ questions the authenticity of the Gaṇapati-prakaraṇa of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, places it not earlier than the sixth century AD and suggests that the cult of Gaṇapati must have come into vogue 'between the end of the fifth and the end of eighth century.' This view must be substantially modified in view of the fact that Mathura¹⁹¹ and Bhitargaon Brick temple have yielded Gaṇapati figures assignable to the early Gupta period. That the cult of Gaṇeśa must have developed considerably prior to Varāhamihira is apparent from his salutation, among others, to this god. It must be mentioned here that Gaṇeśa is the first in the list of gods invoked by him. The long catalogue of the descriptive names of Gaṇeśa in the *Amarakoṣa* (I.1.38), which must have been composed not later than 5th or 6th century, also points to the same conclusion. To sum up, the concept of Gaṇapati must have been in existence in 3rd or 4th century and the date of the Gaṇapatiprakaraṇa of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* need not be brought down to the sixth century AD. It is interesting to note that Varāhamihira also knows numerous troublesome Vināyakas and Gaṇas whom he associates with such demoniac beings as Piśācas, Rākṣasas, serpents and Asuras (e.g. LVIII.9).

SKANDA Versus VIŚĀKHA

The worship of Skanda appears to have gained in popularity in early centuries of the Christian era, more particularly in the Gupta age. Skanda-Kārttikeya was

the tutelary deity of the Yaudheyas; the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta, though styled *Parama-Bhāgavata* in his inscriptions and coins, was a worshipper of this god as can be judged from the first part of his and his son's (Skandagupta's) names, from the replacement of the *garuḍadhvaja* motif by that of peacock, the vehicle of Skanda, and from the representation of the latter on some of his coins.¹⁹² Under the name Mahāsena, Skanda was the tutelary deity of the early Kadambas¹⁹³ and of the early Cālukyas.¹⁹⁴ The Bilsad stone inscription, of the time of Kumāragupta refers to an ancient shrine dedicated to Svāmi-Mahāsena.¹⁹⁵ Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhava* immortalises his birth-story.

It is now usually believed that Skanda and Viśākha along with so many other names denote one and the same deity, i.e. Kārttikeya.¹⁹⁶ Varāhamihira, however, seems to regard these as names of two distinct gods as can be inferred from the use of the two words in one and the same line of a stanza, one following the other immediately. In XLV.II it is stated that an unnatural behaviour on the part of the images of Skanda and Viśākha spells evil to feudatory rulers (*Skanda-Viśākha-samuttham māṇḍalikānām marendrāṇām*), while XLVII.26 prescribes the drawing and propitiation, among others, of the figures of Skanda and Viśākha as a preliminary to the *Puṣya-snāna* rite (*Skandam Viṣṇum Viśākham ca*). Commenting on the first line, Utpala says that Skanda is the same as Kumāra and Viśākha is a certain god (*deva-viśeṣah*); in the second instance he understands Viśākha as the *graha* of Skanda (*Viśākham Skandagraham*).

For a satisfactory explanation of this curious feature, we have to go back to earlier literary and numismatic evidence. While commenting on Pāṇini V.3.99 (*Jivik-ārthe c—āpanye*), Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* mentions the images of Skanda and Viśākha (*apanye ity = ucyate tat—edaṁ na sidhyati-Śivaḥ, Skandah, Viśākha iti*)¹⁹⁷, indicating that he considered them as distinct from one another. The same inference can be drawn from his reference to the compound *Skanda-Viśākha* in his commentary on a *vārtika* on Pāṇini VI. 3.26.¹⁹⁸ Further, among the coins of Huviṣka (2nd century AD), we have two types which have an important bearing on the present question: one of them bears on the reverse the figures of two gods who are named Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha, while the other has three deities called Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena.¹⁹⁹ This fully demonstrates that these were names of three distinct though closely related gods and not different names of one and the same god. Our evidence leaves no room for doubt that even in the sixth century AD Skanda and Viśākha were worshipped as two

separate gods.

Only half a verse is devoted to the description of Skanda's iconography. It lays down that Skanda has a boy-like appearance, carries a *śakti* (spear) and has a peacock for his ensign (*Skandah Kumāra-rūpaḥ śaktidharo barhi-ketuś = ca*, LVII.41). Elsewhere he is described as six-faced (*ṣaḍvaktra*, XCVIII.1). It is curious to note that cock, which is another popular emblem of the god, is not noticed. It is, however, mentioned in a couplet of Kāśyapa extracted by the commentator which states, 'Skanda has peacock for his mount, holds a spear and a cock in his hands and has a handsome and child-like appearance (*Mayūravāhanaḥ Skandah Śakti-kukkuṭa-dhārakah, Surūpadeho vikrānto devaḥ senāpatiḥ*²⁰⁰ *śiśuḥ*).²⁰¹ It is interesting to note that peacock as an emblem of Skanda is mentioned in the Aphsad stone inscr. of Ādityasena²⁰² and Alina copper plate inscr. of the Maitraka ruler Silāditya VII.²⁰³ His oldest anthropomorphic representation is to be found on coins. On one of the silver²⁰⁴ and some copper coins²⁰⁵ of the Yaudheyas dating from the 2nd century AD he (called Brahmanyadeva there) is shown six-headed and holding a long spear in the right hand, the left one resting on his hip. On class 6 of their money belonging to the 3rd-4th centuries AD, we find a new feature, his mount peacock.²⁰⁶ On some coins of Huviṣka, Mahāsena is shown holding a standard surmounted by a bird which, according to J.N. Banerjea, may be peacock.²⁰⁷ On the reverse of a type of Kumāragupta's money also we come across this god holding a spear in his left hand and seated on the peacock mount.²⁰⁸ The same tale is told by the plastic art. In some early Kuṣāṇa sculptures in the Mathura Museum he appears two-armed, holding a spear in his left hand, the right one being shown in the *abhayamudrā* (Nos. 1022, 1577, 2019). His peacock mount makes its appearance in the Gupta art. A very fine sculpture illustrating the scene of his consecration by gods at the head of *devasenā* is also to be seen in the same museum (No. 466). A beautiful red sandstone relief now preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, shows him holding a spear in his left hand and seated on a peacock whose outspread plumage forms his *prabhāmaṇḍala* (Fig. 18).²⁰⁹

The Saura God

REVANTA

Revanta, son of Sūrya by Samjñā, is a creation of Paurāṇic mythology. It is laid down that he should be shown riding on the horseback and accompanied

by attendants engaged in hunting and sport (*Revanto=śu-ārūḍho mṛgayā-kṛīd-ādi-parivārah*,²¹⁰ LVII.56). The *Viṣṇudhar mottara* states that Revanta should be represented in the manner of Sūrya riding on the horseback (III.70.53). This god appears to have gained some popularity in the mediaeval period and is still worshipped in Bengal. An Akaltara inscr. of the time of the Kalacuri king Ratnadeva II informs us that his feudatory Vallabhāraja built a temple of Revanta at Vikarṇapura, modern Kotgadh.²¹¹ The *Byhat-saṃhitā* description is fully corroborated by some late specimens preserved in Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Rajashahi and Dhaka Museums. A beautiful image of this god from Bihar shows Revanta on horseback holding reins in his left hand; he is followed by two dogs, one running under the horse and the other chasing a deer, two antelopes in front of the horse; an archer ready to shoot the deer; two drummers, two cymbal-players, an umbrella-bearer, two pole-bearers, one water-carrier; another attendant carries some kind of game on his shoulders, probably a boar, while a number of armed attendants are marching in front of the cortege (Fig. 19).²¹² A somewhat similar Revanta figure dating from 6th-7th century AD has been reported from Pachar (Gaya, Bihar) is now preserved in Patna Museum (Fig. 20).

Goddesses

The goddesses played a comparatively insignificant role in ancient Hindu religion. Varāhamihira mentions many goddesses. We shall first refer to those about whom some details are given.

DIVINE MOTHERS

The Divine Mothers who are referred to by our author as *Mātṛagaṇa* (LVII.56) or *Mātarah* (XLVII.68; and other plural forms of the word *mātr*, e.g. *Mātrbhīh*, XLVII.26; *Mātrṇām*, LIX.19) and described as universal mothers (*viśvasya mātaraḥ*, XLVII.68) are personified female energies of principal gods. According to Paurāṇic mythology, these Mātrkās were created to assist Śiva in his fight against the demon Andhakāśura.²¹³ According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, the Śaktis of Brahmā, Śiva, Guha, Viṣṇu and Indra originated from their bodies to help Caṇḍikā in her combat with the Asuras.²¹⁴ The number of the Mātrkās was originally seven but was afterwards increased to 8, 9, 12 or even 16. Varāhamihira is silent about their number, but his scholiast first mentions Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Raudrī, Kaumārī, Aindrī, Yāmī, Vāruṇī and Kauverī and next names

Nārasimhī, Vārāhī and Vaināyākī.²¹⁵ In the opinion of the present writer this refers to the conditions in the 9th century AD when the commentator flourished and not during Varahāmiḥira's time. For the preamble of the early Cālukya inscriptions shows that the number of the Mātṛkās was fixed at seven in the 6th-7th century; the Cālukyas are represented as nurtured by the seven Mothers (*Sapta-mātṛbhir* = *vardhitānām*).²¹⁶ The evidence of sculpture is instructive on this question. In Kuṣāṇa art even two, three and more (Mothers) are shown in a group, which shows that their number was elastic.²¹⁷ The popularity of the Mātṛkā cult in the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods is amply testified to by the evidence of art²¹⁸ and inscriptions. It was closely associated with the Tāntrika form of Śaivism. A special mode of propitiating the Mothers had already developed and was called *maṇḍalakrama*.²¹⁹ While treating of the consecration of the images of various dieties, Varahāmiḥira lays down that the Mātṛ images should be installed by persons well-versed in the special mode of their worship and according to Utpala this implies the manner prescribed in their own *Kalpa*.²²⁰ It is interesting to note in this context that the Gangdhar stone inscr. of Viśvavarman (AD 423-25) speaks of building a 'very terrible abode... filled with the female ghouls, of the divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (and) who stir up the very oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion.'²²¹ A Gupta inscription engraved on a rock-tablet in the Pathari hill (Bhilsa) records the execution of a panel of Sapta-Mātṛkās near which the inscription is engraved.²²²

As to their representation in art, Varāhamihira simply states that 'the Mothers should be shown with the emblems of the gods corresponding to their names (*Mātṛgaṇaḥ kartavyaḥ svānāma-dev anur-ūpa-cihna-kṛtaḥ* LVII.56). A similar statement about their sculptural representation is contained in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* which lays down that the Śaktis of individual gods are to be provided with the form, ornaments and vehicles of their representative gods.²²³ Utpala quotes extracts from the previous verses of the chapter giving iconographic features of corresponding gods and then observes that 'they should be endowed with beautiful breasts, slender waist and heavy hips so that female beauty may be created'.²²⁴ We have collective as well as separate representations of the Mothers. The earliest specimen of the Sapta-Mātṛkās is No.F 38 of the Mathura Museum (also No. 126) belonging to the early Kuṣāṇa period. This is the simplest specimen in which the goddesses are shown 'without any distinguishing vehicles, faces or attributes.' Later on even in the Kuṣāṇa period, various kinds of distinctions make their

appearance. Relief No. 552 in the Mathura Museum, for instance, shows a row of seven Divine Mothers, each holding a child in left arm; the first is Brāhmī having three heads (it being impossible to show the fourth head) and holding a ladle in her right hand, her vehicle being swan; Māheśvarī is shown standing with a *triśūla*, against her mount, a bull; Kaumārī holds a *śakti* and has peacock for her vehicle; Vaiṣṇavī is shown with a mace and a kneeling *garuḍa* as her mount; Varāhī is represented with a broken staff and standing against her mount, a *mahiṣa*; Indrānī held an object, now broken, which was probably a *vajra*, and has an elephant for her vehicle; and, lastly, Cāmuṇḍā with her *pretavāhana*, garland of skulls (*muṇḍa-mālā*), emaciated body and sunken belly. On proper right of the row is Virabhadra and on the left Gaṇapati,²²⁵ both of whom replaced the *āyudha-puruṣas* whom we meet in earlier specimens.²²⁶ A number of Sapta-Mātrkā panels as well as images of individual mother goddesses of later date are known²²⁷ which it is neither possible nor necessary to describe here.

EKĀNAMŚĀ

Another goddess about whom we get some details is Ekānamśā. Her origin is given in the *Harivamśa* (Chs. 58-60) which states how at the request of gods Viṣṇu decided to be born as Kṛṣṇa in the womb of Devakī, Vasudeva's wife, ordered the goddess Nidrā to be born as the daughter of Nanda Gopa and Yaśodā and told her that when struck against a rock by Kāmsa (for killing her), she will escape to the sky assuming four arms and holding a trident, sword, wine cup and lotus. She is named Ekānamśā and said to have been born from Prajāpati's particles.²²⁸ It would thus appear that she was closely associated with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. That she enjoyed considerable popularity in the 6th century AD is proved by the fact that in a small chapter of fifty-seven verses dealing with iconometry and iconography she claims as many as three verses while much less space is allotted to such important gods as Indra, Brahmā, Skanda, etc. Another peculiar feature about Ekānamśā that appears first in our work is her association with Baladeva. She is called Vaiṣṇavī Śakti in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (XCI.4).²²⁹ As many as three varieties of her image, viz. two-, four-, and eight-armed, are described by Varāhamihira. He states:²³⁰ Ekānamśā should be placed between Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa; (if she is intended to be shown two-armed) her left hand should rest on her hip, the right one carrying a lotus. If she is to be represented four-armed, she should hold in her left hands a book and a lotus, one of her

right hands being in boon-giving (*vara*)²³¹ pose and the other holding a rosary. When she is to be represented with eight arms, her left hands should carry a *kamaṇḍalu*, a bow, a lotus, and a book, while her right hands should hold an arrow, mirror and a rosary, the remaining one being shown in the *varada-mudrā*.' The *Viṣṇudharmottara* (III.85.71-2)²³² describes two-armed Ekānamśā in almost identical words. Curiously enough no image exactly agreeing with our description is known. Slab No. G 58 of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, is of some interest in the present context (Fig. 21). It depicts a two-armed female figure flanked on each side by a male figure with four arms which give us the impression of his divinity. The female figure holds a lotus stalk in her left hand while 'the open palm of the right bears a lotus mark and is let down in boon-giving posture.' The central position of the female figure leaves no doubt about her divinity and the importance attached to her. Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the then Curator of the Museum, 'tentatively' identified the two male figures as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and the central female figure as Sītā.²³³ J. C. Ghosh proposed to identify this composition as Baladeva, Ekānamśā and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.²³⁴ According to D.P. Pandey, on the other hand, the images represented in the slab are Balarāma, Rukmiṇī and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.²³⁵ R. C. Majumdar and J. N. Banerjea invite our attention to a similar composition in bronze from Imadpur in Bihar: the two-armed goddess standing on a lotus-seat with her right hand in the boon-granting posture and the left holding a mirror is flanked by four-armed Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa on her proper right and left respectively.²³⁶ The female figure in these compositions, it would appear, does not correspond to the description of the two-armed Ekānamśā set forth above. A panel on the right side of the back-wall of the verandah of the Milkmaid's Cave (No. XXVII) at Ellora answers satisfactorily Varahāmiḥira's description of two-armed Ekānamśā. As stated by him, Ekānamśā, who occupies the central position, holds a lotus in her right hand raised to the level of her ear while her left hand rests in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. On her proper left is the four-armed *sthānaka-mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa holding a *cakra* (wheel) and *gadā* (mace) in his back left and right hands respectively and a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*) and probably a flute or play-stick in front left and right hands respectively. On the lower end of the *gadā* is to be seen a mutilated figure of Gadādevī with her left and right hands in the *pralamba* and *kaṭisaṁsthita* poses respectively. On her proper right is a figure of two-armed Baladeva holding a broken *hala* in his left hand, the right hand being disposed in the *śāntida mudra* (Fig. 22).²³⁷

Śacī (also called Māhendrī and Indrānī), the consort of Indra, was regarded as an ideal of wifehood and was worshipped by girls before marriage (VP, 9-14). This custom is even now in vogue in certain parts of India. On some occasions she was to be worshipped along with her male counterpart (XLV.80).

The legend that Pārvati, consort of Śiva, was the daughter of the mountain Himavat had developed and she is accordingly called Adrisutā (IV.30) and Śailasutā (VIII.24).²³⁸ As we have seen above, besides being represented independently, she was also shown in an androgynous form with Śiva. A beautiful sandstone figure of Pārvatī performing austerities dating from 3rd-4th century AD has recently been reported in the excavations at Mandhal in Nagpur district (Fig. 23).

The wives of some of the Vṛṣṇi heroes also appear to have been apotheosised and worshipped. Varāhamihira tells us that the wives of Pradyumna and Śāmba should be shown holding a shield and a sword (*Anayoḥ striyau ca kārye khetakanistrimśa-dhārinyau*, LVII.40).

Mention is also made of the figures of the sons, daughters, wives, attendants²³⁹ and mothers²⁴⁰ of gods, Sarasvatī,²⁴¹ abstract goddesses like Kīrti, Lakṣmī, Dhṛti, Śrī, Svāhā, Siddhi, the wives of Kāśyapa such as Danu, Surasā, Vinatā and Kadru, Aditi, the mother of gods called Ādityas, and Diti, the mother of Daityas (XLVII.56-58).

Gaṇa-devatās or Groups of Divinities

Varāhamihira refers to certain groups of divinities who are classed as *gaṇa-devatās* in the *Amarakoṣa*.²⁴² The Ādityas are mentioned in connection with Indra's consecration (XLVII.56). Their number is variously given as seven or eight in the *Ṛgveda* (9.114.3; 10.72.8) and as twelve in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (VI.1.2.8; XI.6.3.8). In the post-Vedic period they were regarded as the twelve sun-gods connected with twelve months of a year.²⁴³ Viśvedevāḥ, All-Gods, who preside over the eighth quinquennial *yuga* of the Jovian cycle, the constellation of Uttarāṣāḍhā, and the Paurṇamāsī and are said to have given an ornament to Indra's flagstaff,²⁴⁴ are ten in number according to popular notions.²⁴⁵ The Vasus are represented as led by Indra in the *Ṛgveda* and by Agni in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Their number is variously stated to be 8 or 333,²⁴⁶ the former being generally accepted. In our work the word *vasu* is used to denote the numeral 8 (XCVII.1,2). Though the

Rudras (XLVII.56) are said to number thirty-three in the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*, their popular number is eleven according to the Brāhmaṇas.²⁴⁷ Our author employs the word *Rudra* in the sense of the numeral 11 (VIII.20; XCVII.1). Two of these Rudras are named by Varāhamihira: Ajapāda (Ajaikapāda) and Ahirbudhnya, lords of Pūrva—and Uttara—Bhadrapadā respectively.²⁴⁸ The latter was also believed to preside over the sixth *yuga* of the Jovian cycle (VIII.23). The figures of the Rudras were to be drawn and worshipped as a preliminary to *Puṣya-snāna* (XLVII.26), but no details about their iconography are given. The Maruts referred to under the name Marudgaṇa (XLII.52; XLVII.55) are evidently the same as the deity-group called *Anilāḥ* in the *Amarakoṣa*. In the Vedic pantheon Maruts were deities of lightning, and specially associated with Indra in the Vṛtra episode, their number being thrice sixty or thrice seven.²⁴⁹ According to a verse quoted by Bhānuji Dikṣita in his gloss on the *Amarakoṣa* (I.1.10) they number forty-nine. The Sādhyas are mentioned in connection with *Puṣya-snāna* (XLVII.55), their number according to the popular notion being twelve.

LOKAPĀLAS

By far the most important group of the Paurāṇic pantheon was that formed by the guardians of quarters and intermediary directions variously called Lokapāla (XLV.10; XLVII.26; XLII.57), Digīśa (BY, XX.1; TY, IX.2), Digīśvara (BY, XVI.1) or Diṇnātha (YY, VI.19).²⁵⁰ The concept of the guardians of the quarters is of high antiquity and goes back to the *Atharvaveda* and the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* (V.5-10). According to Varāhamihira, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Indu (Soma) and Śaṅkara are the lords of the east, south-east, south, south-west, west, north-west, north and north-east respectively.²⁵¹ This list is at divergence with the stereotyped one of the Purāṇas in which Kubera, not Soma, is the governor of the northern quarter. At the same time, it is curious to find our author referring to the northern region by the name *Kauberī*, meaning the direction governed by Kubera, (XIII.1; XLVII.18; LXXXVI. 25). What is still more interesting is that in his *Yogayātrā* (VI.1) he substitutes Yakṣa for Indu (Soma) as the ruler of the north. There can be no doubt whatsoever that Yakṣa here stands for Kubera, the Yakṣa king. It indicates that the list of the protectors of the quarters was not yet completely stereotyped.²⁵² We have noticed above details about all these deities except Soma about whom something more will be said in connection with the Navagrahas. It will appear that some of the prominent Vedic gods were

reduced to the insignificant position of the Dikpālas and none of them except Śaṅkara (Śiva) was now a cult god.

The honour of protecting the quarters was also shared by eight planets, Ketu being excluded from the list. Thus the Sun, Venus, Mars, Rāhu, Saturn, Moon, Mercury and Jupiter are associated with Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Yakṣa (Kubera) and Śiva respectively in their lordship of the various quarters,²⁵³ as stated above. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhadyātrā* enjoins upon a king undertaking a military expedition to meditate upon the regent of the quarter concerned.²⁵⁴ We learn from the *Yogāyātra* (VI.1-18) that kings while proceeding on an expedition carried the image of the particular Lokapāla and of the planet in front, e.g., images of Indra and the Sun while marching eastward. Quintus Curtius (VIII.14.11) tells us that while marching against Alexander, the forces of Porus carried the image of Hercules aloft. E.R. Bevan thinks the image may have been either of Kṛṣṇa or of Indra.²⁵⁵ But in the light of the evidence set forth above for the first time, it may be suggested that the image in question must have been that of a Dikpāla.²⁵⁶

Demi-gods (Devayonis)

Indians, from very ancient times, believed in the existence of semi-divine spirits or *devayonis*. Of them, Vidyādhara, Apsarases, Yakṣas, Rakṣas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Piśācas, Guhyakas, Siddhas and Bhūtas are mentioned by our author. The *Amarakoṣa*, it is interesting to note, classes them all as *devayonis* (I.1.11). Vidyādhara (XIII.8) and their consorts are described as living on the peaks of the Vindhya mountain (XII.6). The wars of the Vidyādhara (IX.38) and their destruction therein (IX.27) are referred to. Apsarases were the divine damsels (*divyastṛī*, XLV.89), who were to be worshipped as a preliminary to the ceremony of *Puṣya-snāna* (XLVII.25, 58). Their sight in autumn was considered to be auspicious (XLV.89). Yakṣas (XIII.8) are also called Yātudhānas whose sight was believed to cause pestilence to avert which an expiatory rite is prescribed (XLV.79). On the contrary, their appearance in Hemanta was regarded as auspicious (XLV.91). It was considered auspicious to have the sight of the Rakṣas (XIII.11) in Hemanta (XLV.91). Gandharvas (XIII.8; XIV.31) were the celestial musicians and the derivative *Gāṇ dhara* stands for music as well as musicians. They were assigned an outer quarter in the body of Vāstu-puruṣa (LII.44). Utpala describes the Gandharvas as horse-faced (*astamukhā naradevayonayah*, on XIII.8).

Kinnaras, also called Kimpuruṣas (XLVII.62), were supposed to have horse-like faces and consequently known as *Aśvamukhas* (XVI.34). Piśācas (XIII.11) are sometimes associated with demons (XLVII.30; *BY*, XV.10) and in classical Sanskrit literature, the word is loosely used to denote both a class of demigods and demons or goblins. Varāhamihira associates the gatherings of Piśācas (*Piśāca-saṅgha*) with night (XXXVIII.4) and refers to places meant for worshipping them (*Piśācālaya* XI.3).²⁵⁷ Siddhas are mentioned in connection with *Puṣya-snāna* (XLVII.55). The Guhyakas, Yakṣas, Rakṣas, Piśācas and Bhūtas were propitiated for victory in war (*BY*, XV. 1,10-11). It is stated that when not propitiated they spell ruin to the king, his conveyances or army, and when properly propitiated they lead to success and cause trouble to the enemy.²⁵⁸ The sight of the Bhūtas in autumn is said to be favourable (XLV.89). Mention must also be made in this connection of the manes (*pitṛs*, *YY*, IV.47) who were believed to preside over the seventh *yuga* of the Jovian cycle (VIII.23), the constellation of Maghā (XCVII.4) and Amāvāsyā (XCVIII.2). Pitṛs are represented as inhabiting the heavenly abode of Brahmā (LXXIII.19).²⁵⁹ According to Utpala, *Pitṛvana* (XLII.13) denotes a cremation ground which, it appears, was supposed to be haunted by them. Varāhamihira enjoins drawing and worshipping the figures of Yakṣas, Pitṛs, Gandharvas, Apsarases and Siddhas as a preliminary to *Puṣya-snāna* (XLVII.25), but no information is given as to the mode of their representation. The images of Pitṛs, informs Utpala, were at some places fashioned from clay (*Pitarah prasiddhā bhūtajanāḥ lepamayāḥ kutracit kriyante*). The Yakṣa cult appears to have been very popular in a few centuries preceding and following Christ. Sometimes they were treated as attendants of some major gods and sometimes they formed by themselves an object of worship. Some of the earliest beautifully finished sculptures in the round are those of Yakṣas, and reference may be made in this connection to the Parkham Yakṣa and Didarganj Yakṣiṇī of the Maurya period. Vāraṇasī and Kurukṣetra were great centres of Yakṣa cult in ancient times.²⁶⁰

The hosts of Śiva called Pramathas or Gaṇas have been referred to above. There appears to have existed belief in the hosts of other gods and in those of demigods and goblins also. Thus Varāhamihira in his *Yogāyatra* (VI.20) and *Bṛhadāyatrā* (XV.10-11) refers to the *gaṇas* of Indra, Viṣṇu, Agni, Yama, goblins (Niśācaras or Daityas or Asuras), Varuṇa, Mātariśvan, Kubera, Ahi, Suparṇa, Skanda, Piśācas, Yakṣas and Rakṣas whose favour was to be sought for securing victory in war. They are described as bearded, terrific, pot-bellied, hunch-backed and dwarf and as putting on topped crown (*kirita*) and variegated garlands, ornaments and garments.²⁶²

Demonology

While the gods were considered to be of benign nature and claimed spontaneous reverence of the masses, the demons²⁶³ inspired terror and received what may be called forced homage. The war between the gods and demons is alluded to (XLII.1-2). The demon Bali, son of Virocana, was an object of worship, probably because he was a devout devotee of Viṣṇu. Varāhamihira lays down that his image should measure 120 *aṅgulas* in height (*Baliś = ca Vairocaniḥ śatam vimśam*, LVII.30). Along with gods and demigods, demons were also worshipped at the commencement of some religious rites (XLVII.30), lest they might present obstructions in their completion. The gems were believed to derive their origin from the bones of Daitya Bala when he was killed by Indra (LXXIX.3). The name of the demon Vṛtra is implied in Indra's appellation Vṛtrahan noticed above. Vātāpi is represented as hostile to gods and as the tearer of the abdomens of sages (*Suraripu, Muni-kukṣi-bhid*).²⁶⁴ The demonesses Carakī, Vidārikā, Pūtānā and Rākṣasī were supposed to inhabit the four outer corners of a house and as such received offerings at various stages in building a house (LII.81). Rāhu, the supposed obscurer of the sun and the moon, was regarded as an Asura (V.1, 14).

Navagrahas, Nakṣatras and Divisions of Time

The nine planets (*navagrahas*) formed a non-sectarian object of worship. The movements of planets were believed to have immense effect on the course of worldly events in general and human life in particular. It was, therefore, quite natural to propitiate them and solicit their favour. Varāhamihira states that "when planets are pleased with a man, he will have no trouble even if he falls down from a great height or enters the midst of sporting snakes."²⁶⁵ *Grahaśānti* (XLII.37) or *Grahayajña* (XLIII.14; XLVII.29; BY, XV.1; XVIII.1) was performed before launching on a military campaign.²⁶⁶ As we have seen above, the images of planets along with those of the Lokapālas were carried in front of an army while on march. The planets were worshipped on some other occasions also. Along with the constellations they were drawn in a circle on the ground and propitiated on the occasion of the ceremonial ablution called *Paṇḍu-śānti* (XLVII.26, 29). In order to make predictions about rainfall and crops an astrologer went to a place north or east of a city or village and drew on ground planets and constellations and worshipped them (XXIV.6). The figures of Jupiter, Venus and

Saturn are alluded to at another place also (XLV.11), but no information about their iconography is given. Like the Dikpālas, Navagraha panels were also employed as architectural pieces in mediaeval temples.²⁶⁷ The moon was believed to preside over an eclipse (V. 19-20), the 9th quinquennial *yuga* of Jupiter's cycle (VIII.23), 3rd year of a *yuga* (VIII.24), the constellation of Mṛgaśīras (XCVII.4) and the fifth lunar day (XCVIII.1). Mercury and Saturn were believed to be sons of the moon and sun and were consequently called *Saumya* or *Cāndri* (BY, XVIII.11-13) or *Candrātma* (YY, VI.17) and *Sauri* (CIII.47; YY, VI.13) respectively. Brhaspati is said to preside over the 2nd *yuga* of the Jovian cycle (VIII.23, 26) and the constellation of Tīṣya (XCVII.4). The identification of Jupiter and Venus with Brhaspati, the preceptor of gods and chancellor of Indra and Śukra, the preceptor of demons, was a *fait accompli*.²⁶⁸

The *nakṣatras* were similarly carved and worshipped (XXIV.6; XLVII.26). All the asterisms were collectively represented in an anthropomorphic form called Nakṣatrapuruṣa or Dhiṣṇya (CIV.1-5, 6) in the following manner: Mūla represents the feet of Nakṣatra-puruṣa, Rohiṇī, the shanks; Āsvini, the knees; Pūrva- and Uttarāṣādhā, the thighs; Pūrva- and Uttara-phalgunīs, the secret parts Kṛttikā, the hips; Pūrva- and Uttara-bhadrpadā, the sides; Revatī, the abdomen; Anurādhā, the breast; Dhaniṣṭhā, the back; Viśākhā, the arms; Hasta, the hands; Punarvasu, the fingers; Āśleṣā, the nails; Jyēṣṭhā, the neck; Śravaṇā, the ears; Puṣya, the mouth; Svāti, the teeth; Śatabhiṣaj, laughter; Maghā, the nose; Mṛgaśīras, the eyes; Citrā, the forehead; Bharaṇī, the head; and Ārdrā, the hair (CIV.1-5). In the *Rūpasattra-vrata* people worshipped this stellar deity with the desire of securing a handsome physique in the next life (CIV.5,6,8). The *muhūrtas*, the fortnight, morning and evening *sandhyās*, the year, and other divisions of time were also viewed with reverence and are said to have participated in consecrating Indra (XLVII.59-60).

Mention must be made in this connection of Sinīvālī and Kuhū. Sinīvālī is a Ṛgvedic goddess, Kuhū being of later Vedic origin.²⁶⁹ In later Vedic literature they are connected with the first day of the new moon and the new moon itself respectively. They are also named by Varāhamihira (XLVII.57). By the ninth century they appear to have undergone transformation with regard to their physical basis. According to Utpala, Sinīvālī is the Amāvāsyā when the moon is visible whereas Kuhū is a moonless Amāvāsyā (*Sinīvālī drśya-candrā amāvāsyā yasyām prabhāte śaśi drśyate, naṣṭa kṣapā-karā amāvāsyā Kuhūḥ yasyām prabhāte candramā na drśyate*).²⁷⁰

Sages

The seers along with their consorts and pupils had also come to be objects of popular veneration, probably in recognition of the valuable services they rendered by preserving the sacred lore. Varāhamihira names the following: Marīci, Atri, Pulaha, Pulastya, Kratu, Aṅgiras, Bhṛgu, Sanatkumāra, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Dakṣa, Jaigīṣavya, Bhagandara, Ekata, Dvita, Trita, Jābāli, Kaśyapa, Durvāsas, Kaṇva, Kātyāyana, Mārkaṇḍeya, Dīrghatapasa, Śunaḥśepa, Vidūratha, Ūrva, Saṁvartaka, Cyavana, Parāśara, Dvaipāyana and Yavakṛita (XLVII. 63-67). The first six with the addition of Vasiṣṭha make up the traditional Seven Sages (*saptarṣayaḥ*, XIII.5-6; XLVII.63) who were considered identical with the Ursa Major. The tradition of their being seven in number goes back to the *Ṛgveda* (IV.42.8). In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIV.5.2.5,6; II.1.2.4) they are said to be seven and made stars forming the constellation of the Great Bear. Vasiṣṭha's wife Arundhatī, who was supposed to be situated in the centre of the seven stars, is also named (XIII.6). Dvita and Trita are named in the *Ṛgveda*, the latter being probably the god of lightning.²⁷¹ Along with Ekata, they are mentioned in the *Śatapatha* (I.2.5 1.2) and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I.8.10.2) and described as sons of Agni and as born from the waters. Sāyaṇa on *Ṛgveda* I.108 speaks of them as three brothers and *ṛṣis*. The legends that Agastya, the son of Varuṇa (XII.13), drank the entire water of the ocean, and stemmed the Vindhya mountain which was bent upon obstructing the sun's path are recorded (XII.1-5, 6). These exploits are also referred to in a couplet from the *Samāsa-saṁhitā* quoted by Utpala which further records the legend of his devouring the demon Vātāpi.²⁷² He was regarded as identical with Canopus and was worshipped at the latter's appearance after the rainy season (XII.11, 13, 15-8). Varāhamihira refers to the drawing and worship of the figures of *munis* in general (XLVII.25; XLV.10) and of Vedavyāsa in particular (XLV.12), but no information whatsoever is furnished about the mode of their representation.

Other Objects of Worship

Animals, birds and trees were also supposed to possess some superhuman power and their favour was not infrequently solicited. The Nāga cult has been current in India from time immemorial. We have references to drawing and worshipping their figures (XLV.14; XLVII.25, 31, 62). The Nāga cult appears to have been very popular in India in a few centuries prior and posterior to the

Christian era, and its remnants can still be perceived in popular beliefs. Numerous beautiful Nāga images have been found round about Mathura and are exhibited in the Mathura Museum.²⁷³ The snake is said to preside over Āśleṣā (XCVII.4), *navamī* (XCVIII.1) and the *karaṇa* called Nāga (XCIX.2). The pearls supposed to be derived from the serpents belonging to the family of Takṣaka and Vāsuki were believed to possess supernatural power of causing rain (LXXX.25.6). Certain kinds of rocks were believed to be haunted by Nāgas and their presence in a country was supposed to avert drought (LIII.111). As will be shown in a subsequent chapter, good or bad outcomes of a journey or march were inferred from the movements of birds and animals. They were also supposed to possess the power of predicting future and were prayed to declare the same (e.g. LXXXVII.444). A wagtail when seen first after the rainy season was propitiated (XLIV.14). Cows were almost deified (XLVII.68). Prior to felling a tree for fashioning certain articles, it was worshipped and *bali* offered to birds living in the tree-nests (e.g. XLII.16-18; LII.119; LVIII.4). Though the earth was deified and celebrated jointly with Dyaus or independently in the Vedas (*Ṛgveda*, V.84; *Atharvaveda*, 12.1), her personification was but slight. It is considerably advanced in the Paurāṇic mythology. Varāhamihira, evidently in pursuance of the legends current in his days, endows her with such human attributes as the power of speech, shyness, fatigue, fear and anger and speaks of her lips, eyes and mouth (XXXII.3-7). The earth goddess was believed to preside over the *karaṇa* called Gara (XCIX.1). Rivers, seas, mountains etc. were also regarded as sacred and are said to have participated in consecrating Indra (XLVII.61-2, 67). Waters (*toya*) are described as warding off all evil portents (XLVII.70) and were believed to preside over Pūrvāṣadhā (XCVII.5).

B. CEREMONIAL AND PRACTICES

I. Sacrifices

Vedic sacrifices continued to be performed with great zeal. We have numerous references to persons engaged in performing sacrifices.²⁷⁴ 'The drinkers of *soma*' (*somapāh*, V.70; *somapīthayah*, XV.3) is a phrase most probably employed to denote the observers of the Śrauta sacrifices. The terms *huta*,²⁷⁵ *yajña*,²⁷⁶ *kratu*,²⁷⁷ *adhvara*,²⁷⁸ *yāga*²⁷⁹ and *homa*²⁸⁰ are indiscriminately used to denote sacrifices in general. Persons consecrated for performing sacrifices (*kratu-dīkṣita*, XVII.15)

and Brāhmaṇas enjoying the merits accruing from the celebration of numerous sacrifices (V.98) are referred to. Gods were believed to partake of sacrificial offerings, while demons are represented as obstructors of sacrifices. Sacrifices were to be performed and Vedic hymns recited only during the day and not at night.²⁸¹ The performance of a sacrifice at the time of an eclipse was considered to be especially meritorious (V.14).

Sacrifices Named

Of the five great sacrifices (*pañca-mahāyajñas*) which a householder was required to perform every day, only two are named, viz., *Vaiśvadeva* (*vaiśvadevī-kṛtyādyā dharma*, CIII.44) and *Brahmayajña* (YY, VI.17). Of the Śrauta sacrifices, mention is made of *Agnihotra* (IX.43; XVI.14) and *Aśvamedha*. The loftiest ambition of a king in those days was to perform *Aśvamedha* after reducing his enemies.²⁸² The Gupta emperors Samudragupta²⁸³ and Kumāragupta²⁸⁴ and the Vākāṭaka ruler Pravarasena²⁸⁵ were among those who distinguished themselves by performing one or more horse-sacrifices. Varāhamihira seems to distinguish *iṣṭi* from Śrauta sacrifices as can be seen from his use of *yajña* or *kratu* and *iṣṭi* immediately one after the other.²⁸⁶ Utpala mentions *Putrakāmya* as an instance of *iṣṭi*. *Iṣṭi* is that type of sacrifice which is 'performed by a sacrificer and his wife with the help of four priests', viz., *adhvaryu*, *agnīdhra*, *hotṛ* and *brahman*.²⁸⁷ Animal sacrifices were also in vogue (XLV.58) and we have references to the *yūpa* or the sacrificial post to which was tied the animal to be offered into sacrifice (LXIX.10; XCVI.11). Varāhamihira in his *Bṛahdyātrā* compares the killing of enemies in war to that of animals in a sacrifice and regards both as free from sin. (I.2; *vinighnato vighnakarān na pāpam kriyākrameṇ-eva paśūn makheṣu*).

Altar

The sacrificial altar is referred to as *citi* (XIX.6; XLII.13; XCVI.11) and *vedī* (XLIII.8; YY, VIII.1; BY, XVIII.1). In the *Yogayātrā* it is stated that an altar made in accordance with the directions of the *Śulba* works is auspicious (VIII.1-*vedī śubhā śulba-vidhāna-dṛṣṭā*).²⁸⁸ An altar that is defective in regard to its measurement or curved in a direction was regarded inauspicious. A *vedī* defective in the east, south, west, north and middle was believed to be inauspicious for the town, priest, queen, army-chief and king respectively.²⁸⁹ The dimensions of the altar differed from one caste to another. Thus it is laid down that the sacrificial *vedī*

in the case of a Brāhmaṇa measures seven cubits (10½ ft.), of Kṣatriya 6 (9 ft.), of Vaiśya 5 (7½ ft.), of Śūdra 4 (6 ft.) and of mixed castes lesser than this. In case sufficient space is not available, a *vedī* four cubits in extent is recommended for all the castes. A *vedī* with dimensions smaller or larger than the above was regarded so inauspicious as to cause sacrificer's death. A *vedī* measuring 21, 15, 9, 7, 5 and 3 cubits is recommended for nuptial sacrifice in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, artisans and mixed castes respectively. In case so much space could not be procured, an altar measuring 5 cubits is prescribed for all. An altar, it is stated, should be square, even and well-measured.²⁹⁰

Fires

As fire consumed sacrificial offerings and carried the same to the gods it is variously called *hutāsa*,²⁹¹ *hutabhuḥ*²⁹² and *hutavaha*.²⁹³ Varāhamihira does not mention by name any of the three fires required in a Śrauta sacrifice, viz., *gārhapatya*, *āhavanīya* and *dakṣiṇāgni*, which are, however, implied in the employment of the words *śikhin*, *anala*, *agni* and *dahana* in the sense of the numeral 3 (XCVII.1). There are references to Brāhmaṇas maintaining sacred fires (*āhitāgni*, XV.1; *BY*, XVIII.3-5).

Omens from fire (*Agninimittas*)

It will be shown in Chapter VI that the movements, form and colour of the fire and the sound produced by it were believed to foreshadow good or bad results.

Oblations

As a general rule, it is stated that articles defiled or eaten by insects, ants and flies are not conducive to good results.²⁹⁴ Sacrificial offerings are referred to as *sthālīpāka* (XLV.16, 58) and *caru* (XLV.36.37). Certain articles were intended for offering to particular gods only and our author mentions the *caru* especially meant for the Moon and Mars (XLV.36, 37)²⁹⁵ *Khadira*, *palāśa*, *udumbara*, *kāśmarī* and *aśvattha* are recommended for sacrificial fuel sticks or *samidhs* (XLIII.12). Sticks of milky trees were prescribed for the sacrifice performed to avert the results of evil portents connected with fire (XLV.24).

The Priest

Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests. Only two categories of priests, *hoṭṛ* (LIX.13) and *adhvaryu* (BY, XVIII.16-7), are named. We have references to Brāhmaṇas well-versed in all sacrifices.²⁹⁶ Speaking of the royal priest, our author says that he should be skilful, outspoken, free from physical defects and disciplined.²⁹⁷ An idea of a priest's duties in those days can be had from the *Yogayātrā* (I.6) which states that if the chanting of the *mantras*, conducting ceremonial ablutions, *maṇi-bandhana*, expiatory rites, fire-worship, fasting, sacrifices to gods and muttering certain formulas, etc. could lead to success in reducing one's enemies, why should a priest not become a king.²⁹⁸

No religious rite of the Hindus is complete without gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) to the officiating priest and others connected with the rite and the sacrifice is no exception.²⁹⁹ Gifts to the *purohita*, astrologer who inferred omens from fire, and to *śrotriya*s (Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas) constituted an essential part of a sacrifice. Those entitled to sacrificial gifts were called *dakṣiṇīya* (XLVII.80). A mystic significance was attached to the *dakṣiṇā*. Making gifts at the time of an eclipse was considered especially meritorious (V.14 Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Vana, 200.125). A large number of inscriptions, it should be noticed, aims at recording gifts at the time of solar and lunar eclipses.

In conclusion, it must be observed that sacrificial rites had come to be inseparably linked with the Paurāṇic ritual and fire-worship formed an essential part of almost all religious rites. To give only a few instances, *homa* was to be performed at the festival of Indra's banner, *Nīrājana* and other *śāntis* and even while installing an image, an act which had no place in Vedic religion.

Image-worship

Consecration and Installation

The hosts of deities named above were worshipped through the medium of their idols. An image, however, could not become an object of divine honour without being duly consecrated and enshrined. The procedure of consecrating and installing images appears to have been dealt with in earlier works also,³⁰⁰ but as they are lost, the oldest datable account of this subject is to be found in Ch.59 of our work the contents of which are summarised below.

First of all, a pavilion for preliminary consecration (*adhivāsana-maṇḍapa*) was to be erected in the south or east (of a town) and decked with four *torāṇas* (ornamental archways) in four directions and covered with leaves of auspicious trees;³⁶¹ it was to be further decorated on all sides with flowers and banners of certain colours.³⁶² Inside the pavilion a raised altar was made; it was besmeared (with cow-dung), sprinkled with sand and strewn with *kuśa* grass; on this raised altar was placed the image to be installed with its head and feet resting on a *bhadrāsana* (a kind of throne) and a pillow respectively.³⁶³

Then the image was to be bathed with a mixture of the decoction (*kaṣāyajala*) of the twigs of *plakṣa*, *aśvattha*, *udumbara*, *śirīṣa* and *vaṭa* trees, all herbs (*sarvauṣadhis*)³⁶⁴ bearing auspicious names, *kuśa* grass and the like; the earth dug out by elephants and oxen and that from mountains, ant-hills, river-confluences, ponds with growing lotuses, the *pañcagavyas* (cow-dung, bovine urine, milk, curds and clarified butter), and perfumed water containing gold and gems. Next, to the accompaniment of the sounds of various musical instruments and the chanting of the *puṇyāha* and Vedic hymns it was placed with its head pointing to the east.³⁶⁵ Brāhmaṇas recited *mantras* associated with Indra and Agni in the east and south-east respectively and were honoured with fees.³⁶⁶ It was followed by fire-worship to the accompaniment of the *mantras* associated with the god whose image was to be installed and omens were to be interpreted from the movements of the fire and the priest.³⁶⁷ Now the image bathed in the above manner was wrapped in a fresh cloth, decked with ornaments and worshipped with flowers and perfumes and was made to lie down on a well-spread couch (to sleep). After the sleep the image was roused with music, dance and similar other acts. Thus ends the preliminary consecration called *adhivāsana* to be followed by the actual installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) at the time approved by an astrologer.³⁶⁸

After worshipping the image with flowers, unguents and the sounds of conches and musical instruments, it was carefully taken to the sanctum sanctorum keeping the temple to the right; then copious offerings (*bali*) were made to the deity; Brāhmaṇas and other persons assembled there were honoured; a piece of gold was thrown in the pit of the pedestal and the image fixed therein. The ceremony ended with the honour done to the consecrator, astrologer, Brāhmaṇas, the sculptor (*sthapati*) and other persons in the gathering.³⁶⁹

LIX.19 is important in as much as it does not simply mention the persons fit to consecrate the images of different divinities, but also throws valuable light

on the religious conditions of India in our author's time. Thus we are told that Bhāgavatas are entitled to consecrate the image of Viṣṇu; Magas of the Sun, ash-besmeared Brāhmaṇas (Pāśupatas) of Śiva; those well-versed in the peculiar mode of worship called *maṇḍala-krama* of the Divine Mothers; Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedas of Brahmā; Śākyas (Buddhist monks) of the Buddha; and naked monks (Digambaras) of Jina.³¹⁰

Varāhamihira recommends the installation of divine images on a day other than Tuesday in the bright half of a month in the northern solstice, when the moon is posited in the *varga* of Jupiter and the Ascendant is a fixed sign and a fixed *navāṁśa* is rising, when benefics occupy 5th, 9th and the *kendra* houses, and malefics are in *upacayas* (3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th houses), and when the moon is in any of the asterisms, 3 Uttarās, Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīras, Anurādhā, Revatī, Śravaṇa, Tiṣya and Svāti (LIX.20-21).

Shrines in Individual Houses

Besides the public temples, individual houses also appear to have usually possessed shrines of sectarian deities. According to our author, household shrines were to be built in the north-east corner of the house (LII.116). The tradition continues to this day.

Articles used in Worship

Mention is made of a number of articles (*argha* and *bali*) used in worshipping the images of various gods.³¹¹ Certain articles were considered to be especially appropriate for particular deities. Thus, flesh, rice and wine are especially recommended to be offered to the Piśācas and goblins; oil-bath, collyrium, sesamum, flesh and rice, to the manes; the hymns of the Ṛg-, Yajur- and Sāma-Veda, perfumes, incense and garlands, to the seers; unmixed colours and *tri-madhura* (honey, clarified butter and sugar), to Nāgas; incense, clarified butter, oblations, garlands, precious stones, invocations and salutations, to gods; perfumes, garlands and other fragrant articles, to the Gandharvas and divine nymphs; and offerings of all colours, to others; *pratisara* (saffron-coloured thread), cloths, banners, ornaments and sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) were to be offered to all the divinities specified above (XLVII.30-33).

Music and Dance

It will appear from the account of the consecration of divine images given above that along with the sounding of musical instruments singing and dancing had also come to be regarded as necessary adjuncts of image-worship. Similarly, singing, dancing and other festive observances are recommended for warding off the evil results of divine portents (XLV.17). This indicates that the practice of attaching courtesans or dancing girls (now called *Devadāsīs*) to temples had come into existence. It finds confirmation from Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (Pūrvamegha, 35) which clearly refers to courtesans dancing and holding fly-whisks at the Mahākāla temple of Ujjayinī. In later times it became an established practice and is referred to in a number of literary works and inscriptions.³¹²

Daivata-Yātra

A brief reference may now be made to a kind of temple-festival called *daivata-* or *sura-yātrā*.³¹³ Vātsyāyana (*Kāmasūtra*, I.4, 26, 33) calls it *ghaṭā* and informs us that it was held in honour of various deities. It is a kind of religious procession in which the idol of a particular god or goddess is taken in a cart or chariot in front and is still prevalent.

Śāntis

Śānti denotes the expiatory rites performed by Brāhmaṇas for averting an evil or calamity. Utpala defines it as the application and chanting of Vedic *mantras* with a view to ward off calamitous happenings resulting from portentous phenomena.³¹⁴ *Śāntis* were also observed to negative evil results of such trifling matters as procedural mistakes at the Indramaha (XLII.61) and evil signs of *paṭtas* (XLVIII.8).³¹⁵ The constellations of Uttarāṣādhā, Uttara-bhadrapadā, Uttara-phalgunī and Rohiṇī were considered suitable for *śāntis* (XCVII.6). We get elaborate accounts of two *śāntis*, *Nirājana* and *Puṣya-snāna*.

*Nirājana*³¹⁶

Nirājana was a ceremony of politico-religious nature held by kings. The name refers to the act of touching (*ajana*) with water (*nīra*) of horses, elephants and soldiers which constitutes the most significant rite of this ceremony. Its popularity is vouched for by references in Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa.³¹⁷ The rites of waving lights

and lustration of arms on the 10th of the bright half of Āśvayuja are its modern descendants. The contents of Ch.XLIII of the *Brahtsamhitā* which describes it are summarised below.

Nirājana was to be held when Viṣṇu wakes up from his sleep, on the 8th, 12th or 15th³¹⁸ day of the bright half of Kārttika or Āśvayuja.³¹⁹ According to Kauṭilya, however, it was to be performed on the 9th day of Āśvayuja, at the beginning or end of an expedition, at the time of a distress and during *cāturmāsya* (i.e. four months of the rainy season) and when two seasons meet.³²⁰ First, to the north-east of the town, on an auspicious spot were to be erected a wooden arch, 16 cubits high and 10 in extent, and a house for the ceremony made of the branches of *sarja*, *udumbara* or *kakubha* tree, strewn with *kuśa* grass and provided with a door adorned with bamboo fishes, banners and discuses; then *bhallātaka* nuts, rice, costus and white mustard seeds were tied with a string dipped in saffron paste to the necks of the horses who were brought to this house; with the *mantras* addressed to the Sun, Varuṇa, Viśvedevas, Prajāpati, Indra and Viṣṇu, *śānti* was gone through for the horses for a week; once worshipped, the horses were not to be spoken to harshly or beaten, their fear being dispelled by the sounds of *puṇyāha*, conches, musical instruments and songs; on the 8th day to the south of the arch was erected a hermitage strewn with *kuśa* grass and barks of trees facing north; the fire was kindled in an altar in front; jars full of sandal, cotsus, madder, orpiment, red arsenic, *priyaṅgu*, *vacā*, *dantī*, *amṛtā*, *añjana*, turmeric, *suvarṇa-puṣpā*, *agnimanthā*, *śvetā*, *pūrṇakośā*, *kaṭambharā*, *trāyamāṇā*, *sahadevī*, *nāgaṇuṣpā*, *ātmaguptā*, *śatāvare* and *somarāṇi* along with various dishes were to be offered; sacrificial twigs made of the timber of *khadira*, *palāśa*, *udumbara*, *kaśmarī* and *aśvattha* and the sacrificial ladle of gold or silver were to be used; the king, accompanied by a horse-physician and an astrologer, sat on tiger-skin facing east in front of the fire; omens were to be inferred from the altar, priest and fire.³²¹

Next, omens were interpreted from the movements of horses and elephants; thus a horse and an elephant, duly consecrated, bathed and adorned with fresh white cloths, perfumes, garlands and incense were to be brought slowly and with flattering words under the arch near the hermitage resounding with the sounds of musical instruments, conches and *puṇyāha*; if the elephant or horse, thus brought, stands with its right leg uplifted, it foretells victory to the king; if it stands frightened, contrary results are to be expected; the priest then gave the

horse a rice-ball duly consecrated with *mantras*; its smelling or eating by the horse indicated victory, otherwise defeat; so on and so forth; further, reciting expiatory and *pauṣṭika mantras*, he touched the horses, elephants, soldiers and the king with a twig of *udumbara* dipped in the water of the pitchers already kept for the purpose.³²²

The ceremony concluded with a mock military march; first of all, with the chanting of magic hymns of the *Atharvaveda*, the priest pierced with a *śūla* the heart of the clay figure of the enemy and gave the rein to the horse; mounting the horse; the king was to proceed towards the north-east with his forces.³²³

Puṣya-Snāna

Puṣya-snāna was a ceremonial ablution held by kings every year, preferably on the full-moon day of Pauṣa. It could be observed at any other time, but that in Pauṣa was considered to be the most meritorious (XLVII.82). It was also celebrated at the time of royal consecration and was believed to bless the king with overlordship and the birth of a son (XLVII.85). It was regarded as the most auspicious rite capable of remedying all kinds of portentous phenomena, disturbances, occurrence of eclipse, comets and planetary conflicts (XLVII.3, 83-4). This ceremony was also gone through for elephants and horses to free them from diseases (XLVII.87). It is stated that this ablution was taught by Brahmā to Bṛhaspati for the sake of Indra and later it was obtained by Vṛddha-Garga who imparted it to Bhāguri (XLVII.2, 86).

It was to be performed on a beautiful spot in a forest, a house near it, river-banks, ponds, a cow-pen, sea-shore, hermitages of ascetics, temples, *tīrthas*, parks or where the earth slopes down towards the east or north and where water flows from left to right (XLVII.4-17). To begin with, an astrologer, minister, and the priest went out of the town at night and made offerings in the east, north or north-east; the priest invited gods, quarters, Nāgas, sages and others for conferring *śānti* on the king, worshipped them, stayed there during that night and interpreted omens from dreams; the next morning, at the venue of the ceremony representations of the earth with various localities, Nāgas, Yakṣas, gods, manes, Gandharvas, Apasarases, Munis, Siddhas, planets and constellations, Rudras, Divine Mothers, Skanda, Viṣṇu, Viśākha, Lokapālas and of divine damsels were drawn with various charming coloured and perfumed powders in a circle (*maṇḍala*)

and worshipped with numerous objects specially prescribed for them (XLVII.18-33).
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To the west and south of the circle were to be made two altars, one for the ablution and the other for sacrifice, and fire kindled in the latter; necessary materials including long blades of *kuśa* grass that have passed their sprouting stage, fried rice, clarified butter, barley-grains (*akṣata*), curds, honey, white mustard seeds, perfumes, flowers, incense, yellow orpiment, collyrium, sesamum, and delicious fruits of the season were collected and earthen plates filled with the *pāyasa* and ghee placed in the circle; worship with the above articles was offered on the western altar; on the four corners of this altar were to be placed firm pitchers with white threads tied round their necks, and leaves and fruits of milky trees on their mouths, and filled with water mixed with medicinal herbs³²⁴ meant for *Puṣya-snāna* and gems; next, materials necessary for *Puṣya-snāna*, such as medicinal herbs, all kinds of seeds, auspicious objects like curds, *akṣata*, and flowers, juices of all tastes, gems, *bilva* and *vikāṅkata* fruits and gold were to be collected (34-42). The ceremony of ablution proper followed. Skins of two bulls (1. of a bull with auspicious marks and dead in old age to be placed with its neck turned to the east, and 2. unimpaired red skin of a fighting bull), a lion and a tiger were spread one over the other on the western altar; over these skins was placed a *bhadrāsana* made of gold, silver, copper or of the wood of a milky tree; a piece of gold was placed inside it. The king wearing an unwashed linen cloth and surrounded by his ministers, priests, astrologers and others sat on the *bhadrāsana* and amidst the sounds of *puṇyāha*, Vedic *mantras*, conches, tabors, etc. made offerings and did worship; the priest covered him with a blanket and bathed with pitchers containing clarified butter; the number of pitchers may be 8, 28 or 108, the larger the number, greater will be the religious merit.³²⁵ Then the blanket was to be removed; the king bathed with water meant for the ablution containing fruits and flowers, and a *mantra* (55-70), which enumerates the gods, goddesses, etc. who are said to have consecrated Indra in former times, was recited. After the bath the king wore a pair of cotton cloths sanctified by certain *mantras*, worshipped his umbrella, banner, weapons, and his tutelary deity, and put on a new ornament which in consequence of being sanctified with certain hymns was supposed to bestow longevity and victory on its wearer (43-74).

Next, having gone to the sacrificial altar in the south, the king sat over the hides of a bull, cat, antelope, spotted deer, lion and tiger placed one over the

other; a sacrifice was offered and omens were taken; the gods invited earlier were bidden farewell to; and the king made rich gifts to the astrologer, priest and others (75-80).

The ceremony concluded with the king granting people freedom from fear, freeing animals brought by butchers to slaughter-houses, and releasing prisoners except those that threaten the king's person or the harem(81).

It may be briefly noticed here that in his *Brhadyātrā* (IV.19-23) and the *Yogayātrā* (VII) our author describes the ceremonial ablution called *Nakṣatra-vijaya-snāna* preceding a march for victory and various water-preparations for bath in different constellations. The *Yogayātrā* also names various food-preparations to be relished by the king in different constellations before undertaking military operations. The *Vijayasnāna* described in the *Brhadyātrā* (XVII) is practically identical with the one described above, except for a few details. The limitations of space forbid even a brief account of all these ceremonies.

This ceremony appears to have been actually performed before an aggressive operation. Bāṇa, for example, tells us that before undertaking his ambitious military operations, Harṣa, seated on a *bhadrāsana* kept over the skin of a tiger, bathed at an auspicious moment with water contained in golden pitchers, offered sacrifice, bestowed costly gifts on the Brāhmaṇas, put on fresh *dukūla* garments, and some sanctified ornaments (*śāsana-valaya* and *gamana-maṅgala-pratisara*), restored certain courtiers to their former positions and granted general amnesty to prisoners.³²⁶

Koṭihoma

The *Koṭihoma* was performed in order to avert divine calamities (XLV.6). According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (XCIII.5-6), it was a variety of *Navagrahahoma*, while the *Bhaviṣyottara* (CXLII.11-12) describes it as a *śānti* rite. The *Agni-purāṇa* (CXLIX.7-10) states that if a king gets *Koṭihoma* performed by the Brāhmaṇas enemies cannot stand before him in the battle and there is no pestilential disease or calamity in his country; excessive rain, drought, mice, locusts, parrots, demons and all the foes are conjured away; one who performs *Koṭihoma* gets every desire fulfilled and goes to heaven bodily. It was an elaborate rite involving a million *āhutis* and requiring the services of 20, 100, 1000 or more Brāhmaṇas. The *Matsya* (XCIII.119) equates it to 100 *Aśvamedhas* in merit. According to the

Harṣacarita (V), it was performed when Prabhākaravardhana was on his death-bed.³²⁷

Besides, the king was required to hold *śāntis* to ward off the dire consequences resulting from abnormal physical phenomena. They will be briefly noticed in connection with portents in Ch.VI.

Saṃskāras

According to the Hindu view of life every twice-born has to undergo certain religious sacraments or *saṃskāras* (XCVII.15) which were believed not only to wash away physical impurities but also to sanctify this as well as the other life.³²⁸ Of these our author names only *Niṣeka* (II, p.68) or conception, *Jātakarma* or birth ceremonies (YY, VIII.19), and *Karṇavedha* or boring the ears (XCIX.6).³²⁹ The *Upanayana* or initiation ceremony is called *Mekhalā* (XCVII.15), apparently because the tying of the girdle round the waist constituted one of the most essential items of the ceremony. The *saṃskāras* were regarded as *pauṣṭika* or strength-giving rites and the *Jātakarma* is expressly so called. There is also a reference to offering oblations into the fire at the time of the birth and marriage ceremonies (XL.II.37). The marriage ceremony will be described in the next chapter.

Other Practices

We have casual references to the following practices also.

Śrāddha

As now, *śrāddha* feasts were popular then also. *Varāhamihira* represents a learned astrologer as sanctifying the row of Brāhmaṇas entertained at a *śrāddha* feast (II.13).³³⁰ *Pitṛpūja*, the worship of manes, is said to prosper in the Māgha year of Jupiter's cycle (VIII.6). Thursday is recommended for rites connected with the manes (CIII.62). Of the precious stones, emerald was considered to be especially suitable for use in worshipping manes (LXXXII.1). There is also a reference in the *Yogayātrā* (IV.47) to the practice of offering *piṇḍas* to the manes at Gayā which is still very popular.

Tīrthayātrā

The *tīrthas* were regarded as sacred and are recommended as venues for certain religious rites like *Puṣya-snāna* (XLVII.15). The water from *tīrthas* was used for bathing an image (LIX.9), and the death at *tīrthas* considered to be meritorious (LXVIII.12, 19). This practice is still current and a considerable portion of the population of Vārāṇasī, Gayā and such other famous places of pilgrimage is constituted by people flocking there during their last days.

Upayācitaka

It was a sort of thanks-offering to the gods. While describing the preliminaries to a military expedition, Varāhamihira enjoins upon the king to make offerings to the hosts of various deities, request them to follow the army and promise them double offerings after the victory (BY, XV.13; XXXIV.5, YY, VI.27).

Kīrtana

Kīrtana denotes the muttering of certain fixed formula believed to yield desired objects. The recitation of the *Bhārata* (i.e. the *Mahābhārata*) was believed to forestall the evil outcome of a bad dream (BY, XVI.31) and the same along with that of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, Arthaśāstras and the *Rāmāyaṇa* at the commencement of a march considered to be very auspicious (YY, XIII.4).

Vratas

We have several references to the *vratas* or religious vows which involved fast accompanied by the performance of certain rites (XV.2; XVI.19, 32; XCVII.15). One such *vrata* called *Rūpasattra* was observed with the desire of attaining beautiful physical features and is briefly described in CIV.1-13, contents whereof are summarised below. The observer of this *vrata* had first to constitute the stellar deity (Nakṣatra-puruṣa) in the manner specified above.³³¹ Then on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Caitra when the moon passes through the asterism of Mūla, the performer worshipped Nakṣatra-puruṣa and Viṣṇu and observed fast, and when the *vrata* was over made costly presents to the astrologer.

Viṣṇu, under his various names, was believed to be the lord of the twelve months of a year, the months also being known by the names of the presiding

deity. Thus the twelve months beginning with Mṛgaśīrṣa were called Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha and Dāmodara (CIV.14-15). It was believed that a man fasting on the 12th day of the several months and worshipping Viṣṇu under his respective names attains his position which is free from the fear of re-birth (CIV.16).³³²

Great significance was attached to fast which formed one of the prerequisites of certain rites. A good astrologer was often expected to undertake fast (II, p.21; XXIV.6). The king had to observe fast while adorning Indra's banner with ornaments and erecting and entering it into the town and bidding farewell to it (XLII.50, also XLV.15).

Black Magic

A number of magical practices were also prevalent. *Abhicāra*³³³ is the generic word denoting these practices. An astrologer was expected to be skilled in *abhicāra* (II, p.20). We have references to persons well-versed and engaged in *abhicāra* (XV.4; XVI.18, 23; LXVIII.30). The *abhicāra* rites were to be performed with the chanting of the *mantras* from the *Atharvaveda* (XLIII.21 and comm.). The act of piercing the clay figure of the enemy following the ceremony of *Nīrajana*, noticed above, was an *abhicāra* rite. We may now take stock of a few other terms used to denote some similar practices. One of these terms is *kṛtyā* which, according to Utpala, denotes a woman raised from the fire amidst the recitation of *abhicāra mantras* for ruining an enemy (*abhicārakair = mantrair = agni - madhyād = yā strī utthāpyate sā kṛtyā*, on LXVIII.37). According to popular beliefs, *kṛtyā* could destroy even entire families (LXXIII.10. Cf. *Manu*, III.58). Varāhamihira refers to persons observing *kṛtyā* rites (LXVIII.37). The term *vetāla* means the act of infusing life into a dead body with the help of the *mantras* (*śava-śarīrasya mantraiḥ punar = utthāpanam vetālah*, on LXVIII.37). Mention is made of those well-versed in the doings of *vetāla* (*vetāla-karmajña*, XV.4). It was believed that if a *vetāliya* rite was wrongly performed, it spelled the ruin of the doer himself (*vinihanti tad = eva karma tān = vetāliyam = iv-āyathākṛtam*, CIII.59). The sharp constellations of Mūla, Ārdrā, Jyēṣṭhā and Āśleṣā are recommended for the rites connected with *vetāla* (XCVII.7). People also believed in the power of *mantras* or magical incantations and *kuhaka* or magical rites. Varāhamihira refers to experts in the use of the *mantras* (LXVIII.30). It was believed that one could win over another's heart by

the use of *mantras* and *kuhaka* (LXXIV.5). Varāhamihira, for one, however, held that *mantras* and *kuhaka* are not capable of producing happiness but only harmful effects. It was believed that an evil eye (*aśubha-dṛṣṭi*) can be averted by worshipping gods and Brāhmaṇas, performing expiatory rites, muttering certain formulas, observing restraints, etc. (CIII.48). Varāhamihira mentions a number of astrological beliefs which will be noticed in Ch.VI.

II

NON-VEDIC SECTS

The information that we get about non-Vedic sects like Buddhism and Jainism is extremely meagre and fragmentary as compared to the rich material bearing on orthodox Vedicism analysed above. Varāhamihira refers to heterodoxy as *pākhaṇḍa* (VIII.12; XV.24; XLV.75) and to its adherents as *pākhaṇḍin* (V.29; IX.33; XV.10; XXXI.4)³³⁴ which latter term Utpala invariably understands in the sense of people beyond the pale of Vedic religion (*Vedabāhya*). We have references also to *nāsikas* (atheists denying the authority of the Vedas, LXVIII.35) and their followers (XLV.75). Utpala takes the word *nāstika* to denote a *Laukāyatika* devoid of all religious rites (*nāsikāām ca Veda-bāhyānām laukāyatikānām*, XLV.75; *nāstikah kriyārahit Laukāyatikapṛāyaḥ*, LXVIII.35). Our author flourished at a time when heterodoxy was fast losing ground and consequently viewed with disfavour. We need not, therefore, be surprised if a country ruled by a king devoted to *pākhaṇḍas* was supposed to be heading to its ruin (XLV.75).

Buddhism

Varāhamihira refers to Buddhist monks as Śākya-bhikṣu (XVI.14; CIII.61), Śākya (L.21; LIX.19; BJ XV.1) and Śravaṇa (LXXXVI.9, 36) and to nuns as *bhikṣuṇikā* (LXXVII.9). The word Arhat (L.21) may denote either a Buddhist or a Jaina mark. The commentator invariably explains Śākya as *raktaṭaṭika* or *raktaṭaṭa*, indicating that in Utpala's time Buddhist monks and nuns used red robes.

Our author seems to have had profound reverence for the Buddha whom he describes as 'the father of the whole world' (*pit-eva jagato bhavati Buddhah*, LVII.44), 'benevolent to all' (*sarvāhitasya*) and as 'of serene mind' (*śāntamanasaḥ*, LIX.19). Further, he devotes one full verse to the description of the Buddha's iconography while many Brāhmaṇical gods, e.g. Brahmā, Skanda, Varuṇa, etc., are

disposed of within fewer words. We are told that the Buddha, as if he were the father of the whole world, should be shown with his palm and soles marked with the figure of a lotus, a placid countenance, very short hair (*sunīca-keśa*), and seated on a lotus-seat.³³⁵ These are only very general characteristics of the Buddha images and it is not necessary to describe the numerous specimens illustrating these features. This *dhyāna* is of the seated Buddha figure. No reference is made by our author to the standing Buddha figure. Only the Śākya or Buddhist monks, we are told, are entitled to consecrate the image of the Buddha (LIX.19). Utpala adds that it was to be installed in accordance with the *Pāramitās*.

Jainism

As compared with the Buddhists, references to the Jainas are much less numerous. The Jaina monks are referred to as Nirgrantha (LXXXVI.34.BJ, XV.I), Nirgranthi (L.21) or Nagna (LIX.19) which undoubtedly stand for the Digambaras. There is no tangible reference to the Śvetāmbaras. We get the following iconographic description of the Jina images: 'The god of the Arhats (a Tirthaṅkara) should be represented nude, youthful, beautiful and serene in appearance, his arms reaching the knees and the breast bearing the Śrīvatsa mark'.³³⁶ These features are so general that any Jina image can illustrate them. According to Varāhamihira, only the nude Jaina monks could consecrate the Jina images (LIX.19).

Ājivikas

We have a solitary reference to the followers of the Ājivika sect also (BJ, XV.1).³³⁷ The paucity of references probably indicates that the sect did not find much favour with the people.

Notes and References

1. VIII.26; XXXII.6, 18, 24; XLII.51,55; XLVII.78; LII.43; LVIII.14; LIX.11, 12; LXVIII.29; LXXIX.8; LXXX.7; XCVI.8; XCIX.1.
2. VIII.23, 33; XXXII.6; XXXIII.20; XLII.6, 11, 14, 30, 37, 39, 55; XLIII.25, 26; XLV.73, XLVII.77; LXXXV.1; XCVII.4, 5; XCVIII.1.
3. XXXIII.24; XLIII.14; XLV.80; XLVII.2; LVII.42.
4. XLII.9; XLVII.70.

5. XLII.56; LIII.3.
6. For an epigraphic allusion to Indra as thousand-eyed *vide CII, III, No. 47, 1*. Also cf. *Raghuvamśa*, III.43.
7. i.e., 1/4th of the *Rgveda*, *vide A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology*, p.54.
8. Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, III.38,49.
9. XII.12; LXXX.26; LXXXI.6. Cf. *Rgveda*, II.12.7, 12.
10. XXXII.3-6. Cf. *Rgveda*, II.12.2 where this idea occurs.
11. Sakrānala (VIII.23), Indrāgni (VIII.45), Śakrāgni (XCVII.4). Cf. "With Agni Indra is more frequently coupled as a dual divinity than with any other god" (Macdonell, *op.cit.*, p.57).
12. XLII 39-40; XLV.80; LII 43, 54.
13. The existence of Indra cult in the post-Maurya epoch is attested to by a large number of *yūpas* found in U.P., Rajasthan and Central India. Symbols like *Indradhvaja*, *vajra* and *kalpa-vrkṣa* occur profusely on coins, seals, sealings and sculptures of North India assignable to the period between BC 200 and AD 500.
14. शुक्लश्चतुर्विषाणो द्विपो महेन्द्रस्य वज्रपाणित्वम्।
तिर्यग्गल्लटसंस्थं तृतीयमपि लोचनं चिह्नम्॥

LVII.42.

His elephant is named Airāvata LXXX.20. For an epigraphic allusion to it *vide CII, III, No. 17, p. 74, 1.1*. Indra is styled *kuliśa-dhara* and *kuliśa-bhṛt* (XXXII.28; TY, I.17).

15. Cf. A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 49, f.
16. K.N. Dikshit, *Excavations at Paharpur*, MASI, 55, p. 46, Pl XXVII d.
17. According to the Amānta system. Cf. verse 3 of the Mandassor inscription of the time of Naravarman, dated Mālva 461, which refers to Śakra's festival in the rainy season. See D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd Edition, p. 397.
18. It prescribes a holiday when the flag in Indra's honour is raised and taken down. *Vide also Rāyapaseṇiya sūtra, Kaṇḍikā 148; Nāyādharmakāṇḍa*, I.25.
19. I.63.1-29. Cr. edition (BORI), I.LVII.1-29.
20. *Kṛtya-ratnākara, Saṃskara-candrikā*. Cf. HDS, II, pp. 398, 825.
21. I.63. 26-7, 29.
22. Ch. XLII is entitled *Indra-dhvaja-sampad*; it is called *maha* in XLII.9.
23. The *Mahābhārata* does not bring in Brahmā and Viṣṇu and simply states that the festival was started by Vasu who obtained the staff from Indra and planted it in the ground at the end of the year and raised it on the other day. As suggested by Kane (HDS, II, p. 826), the raising of the bamboo staff on the 1st day of Caitra every year in Deccan and other places may be its reminiscent.
24. XLII.15. Forbidden for this purpose were the trees growing in parks, near a

temple, on a cremation ground or an ant-hill, by the road-side; *caitya-vrkṣas*; those that are extremely bent, withered at the top, thorny and entwined by creepers and parasitical plants; those that contain birds' nests or holes, are damaged by wind or fire, and bear feminine names (XLII.13-4).

25. प्रोष्ठपादे प्रतिपदि ध्वजार्यं पूर्वतो वनम्।
गत्वा वृक्षं परीक्षेत वयःसारगुणान्वितम्॥
26. XLII.16-18. Verses 17-8 asking the spirits to leave the tree in question are said to be a *mantra*.
27. The carpenter while felling the tree faced north or east. The creaking sound of the axe was considered inauspicious, while soft and deep one auspicious. A tree falling unbroken and without being bent and entwined with another tree was supposed to bestow victory on the king; one falling under contrary circumstances was to be rejected (XLII.19-20).
28. It was originally a very simple ceremony; the performer of a religious rite honoured the assembled Brāhmaṇas and requested them with folded hands 'may you declare the day to be auspicious for such and such a ceremony which I... am about to perform' and then the Brāhmaṇas responded by saying 'Om, may it be auspicious'. Vide *HDS*, II, pp. 216-7, fn. 503.
29. XLII.29-30.
30. XLII.38. Cf. Garga as cited by Utpala. According to Garga quoted by Aparārka on *Yājñavalkya*, I.147, the banner was to be raised on the 12th of the bright half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in conjunction with Uttarāṣādhā, Śravaṇā or Dhaniṣṭhā. According to the *Kāuśika Sūtra*, the festival began on the 8th of the bright half of Bhādrapada or Āśvina and the flag was raised on the 12th of the same month.
31. शुक्रकुमार्यः कार्यः प्राह मुनः सप्त पञ्च वा तज्ज्ञैः।
नन्दोपनन्दसंज्ञे पादोनाद्धध्वजोच्छ्रयात्॥
षोडशभागाभ्यधिके जयविजये द्वे वसुन्धरे चान्ये।
अधिका शक्रजनित्री मध्येऽष्टांशेन चैतासाम्॥

XLII.39-40.

Cf. Garga cited on the above—

वृद्धकाष्ठकृताः पञ्च सप्त वा लक्षणान्विताः।
इन्द्रध्वजस्य शोभार्यं कुमारीः कारयेद् द्विजः॥

Varāhamihira does not give the measures of the flag. Garga gives the following measurements :—

तथा च गर्गः,
अष्टाविंशत्करा यष्टिरष्टहस्ता ततोऽपरा।
विष्कम्भश्चाङ्गुलैस्तस्याः षड्भिर्दिगुणितैः स्मृतः॥
समग्रमनुलोमं वा तक्षं प्राक् शिखयान्वितम्।
कुर्यादिन्द्रध्वजं शुभ्रं सारदारुमयं शुभम्॥

Śakra-kumārīs were to be made of strong and unbroken wood (XLII.58).

32. अछिन्नरज्जुं दृढकाष्ठमातृकं सुश्लिष्टयन्त्रागलपादतोरणम्।
उत्पापयेल्लक्ष्म सहस्रचक्षुषः सारदुमाभग्नकुमारिकान्वितम्॥

XLII.58

Cf. Utpala— तथा अछिन्नरज्जुम् इन्द्रध्वजबन्धनार्थमष्टासु दिक्षु अष्टौ रज्जवः कार्याः, तथा च गर्गः, यथादिशं च रज्जवष्टौ मौ जीस्रग्दामसंहिताः। निग्रहार्थं ध्वजे कार्या निबद्धाश्चेन्द्रमण्डले॥ इन्द्रध्वजनिष्पीडनार्थं पार्श्वद्वये मातृकाद्वितयं कार्यम्। अयमर्थः। पादमूलध्वजस्य तोरणं कार्यं तत्र या मातृका पार्श्वस्थितानि निरन्तराणि काष्ठानि तासां मातृकाणां तिर्यक्कृत्वा यानि काष्ठानि निक्षिप्यन्ते तान्यर्गलाग्रहणेनोच्यन्ते।

33. XLII.41-56. Verse 7 names groups of small tinkling bells, garlands, umbrella, bells and *piṭakas* as ornaments of the staff—
स किङ्किणीजालपरिष्कृतेन सकृच्छत्रघण्टापिटकान्वितेन।

Many illustrations of banner and umbrella being shown on one and the same staff are found in Ajanta frescoes (NPP, LVIII, p.243). Varāhamihira seems to use the word *piṭaka* in the sense of ornaments. It is evident from the fact that he calls the thirteen ornaments both as *piṭaka* and *bhūṣaṇa*. Cf. verses 41, 50.

34. Utpala (on verse 57) takes *phala* to mean a plough (*lāṅgala*). It is difficult to understand how a plough could be used in adorning the staff.
35. In conclusion mention may be made of the omens inferred at various stages of the festival. The performance, according to rules, of Indramaha was supposed to bestow prosperity and victory on the king and happiness, freedom from fear and disease and a good supply of food on the subjects and to give indications of good or bad happenings in future (vv. 9-10, 68). The breaking of the spoke, wheel, rim and axle-pins of the cart at the time of carrying the tree-trunk to the town was taken to augur destruction of army, wealth and the carpenter (v.22). The banners of white, yellow, variegated and red colours (hung for adornment) indicated victory, outbreak of disease, victory and war respectively. Similarly, elephants and other animals felling the trunk and the boys clapping their hands or animals fighting with one another foretold impending fear and war respectively (vv. 27-8). Carnivorous birds, owl, pigeon, crow and *kaṅka* sitting on the staff were believed to indicate great danger to the king; *cāśa*, to the crown-prince; a hawk, destruction of king's eye; the breaking or falling of umbrella, king's death; bees clinging to the staff, fear from thieves; a meteor falling on it, the death of *purohita*; a lightning, queen's death; a banner falling, as above; the fall of an ornament, drought; the staff breaking in the middle, top and the bottom, death of the minister, king and the towns-folk; the staff being covered with smoke or dark, outbreak of fire or mental aberrations; snake-figures breaking or falling, death to ministers; ill-ports in the north, east, south and west, death to Brāhmaṇas etc.; the breaking of *Śakra-kumaris*, death to harlots; the ropes giving way, trouble to children; if the prop near the *torāṇa* (*māṭrka*) breaks, trouble to queen-mother; the good or bad acts of bards and boys were believed to have corresponding effects (vv. 62-6). The omens derived from fire will be noticed subsequently.
36. Mention must in this connection be made of the so-called standard type of gold

coins of Samudragupta. On the obverse of this type the king is shown offering oblations in the fire-altar with the right hand, while the object held by him in the left hand is variously identified as spear, standard or sceptre. Munishchandra Joshi, however, suggests, taking his forte on the *BS* evidence describing the great importance of the festival for the rulers, its identification with the Indradhvaja and accordingly calls this type as Indradhvaja type. (See "The probable Background of the Standard Type Coin of King Samudragupta", *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 14-19).

37. Macdonell, *op.cit.*, pp.22, 25-6.
38. XXXII.7, 20; XXXIV.2; V.19, 22; LXXIX.9; LXXX.7; XCVII.5.
39. LIII.3; LXXXV.75. Cf. Junagadh stone inscr. of Skandagupta (*CII*, III, p.89,1.9)—*Niyujya devā Varuṇam prāṭicyām svasthā yathā n-onmanaso babhūvuh.*
40. LII.44; YY, VI.12. Also cf. XXXIV.2.
41. XLV.50; LIII.124.
42. Cf. YY, VI.12, where *gadā* is mentioned as another attribute of Varuṇa—*Jal-eśvaram pās-ānvitam saha gadayā ca pūjitam.*
- 42a. Vide Devendra Handa, *Osian : History, Archaeology, Art and Architecture*, Delhi 1984, p. 154, Pl.112.
43. J.N. Banerjea, *DHI*, p.527, Pl.XLVI, Fig.1. Also see K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1961, Fig. 66.
44. Macdonell, *op.cit.*, pp. 118-19.
45. Prajāpati VIII.24,29; XI.25; XLVII.68. Brahmā I.5, 6; II.12; V.19, 20; XI.25; XXVI.5; XXXIII.22; XLV.10. XLVII.55; LXXIII.20.
46. XLVII.2.
47. LXXIII.18, 19; I.6.
48. I.2.
49. I.4; XXXII.3, 5; XXXIV.2; LXXXVII.40.
50. XXXIV.2; V.19, 20; VIII.24; VIII.29; XCVII.4; XCVIII.1; XCIX.1.
51. Cf. LXXXVII.40 where gods are referred to as *Pitāmahādi*.
52. It was customary with the devotees of Viṣṇu and Śiva to represent Brahmā as subordinate to their respective deity. Cf. *CII*, III, No. 35 lines 1-2 where Svayambhū is said to be obedient to Śiva's commands.
53. XCVII.4; XCVIII.1; XCIX.1
54. V.2.
55. TY. I.2; III.2.
56. E.g.M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogadh*, *MASI*, No. 70, Pl. X (b).
57. See *supra*, p. 119.

58. Kāśyapa (as cited by Utpala on p. 785) describes him as four-faced, having a staff, skin of a black antelope and a water-vessel:—
ब्रह्मा चतुर्मुखो दण्डी कृष्णाजिनकमण्डली. It seems to stress his *brahmacārīn* aspect wherein he wears the hide of a black antelope and carries a staff and a *kamaṇḍalu* in his hands.
59. Mathura Museum Nos. 382, 2134.
60. *MAI*, No. 16, p. 12, Pl. XII (b).
61. T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II, Pl. CXLVI. For another Brahmā figure hailing from the same place *vide ibid.*, Pl. CXLIV; G. H. Khare, *Mūrti-vijñāna* (Marāthī), pp. 7-8, Pl. I.
62. VIII.23, 26; XLII.4, 6, 30, 54; XLIII.6; XLV.11; XLVII.26, 55; LVII.31, 35; LIX.19; LXXIX.8; LXXX.7; CIV..6,14
63. VIII.21; XLII.5; XLVII.77; CIV.14.
64. XXIV.18; XCVII.5; XCVIII.1; TY, I.2
65. XLII.2; CIV. 8, 14.
66. XLII.2. Fleet (*CII*, III, p.28, fn.5) has rightly observed that the title *Bhagavat* seems to belong most particularly to Viṣṇu, and to denote him wherever there is nothing in the context to give any other application.
67. Cf. *nidrā-uyavāya-samaye Madhusūdanasya*, Gangdhar stone inscr. of Viśvavarman of AD 424-5 (*CII*, III, No.17, 1.21, p.75).
68. Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Sects (Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. IV)*, pp. 42 ff; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 435 ff.
69. Cf. *Meghadūta* I. 15 which describes Viṣṇu as clad in cow herds' dress (*gopaveṣa*).
70. LXXXV.33; BY, XXIII.29.
71. XV.20; LIX.19; LXXXVI.25 Cf. LXVIII.32 which mentions devotees of Vāsudeva.
72. XV.20; LXXXVI.25; LXXXV.33.
73. *CII*, III, No. 4, 1.11; No.7, 1.1; No.12, 1.20; No.13, 1.5; *CII*, V, No.2, p.7, 1.6; No.8, p.36, 1.6; A.S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 123, 137, 141, 153.
74. *CII*, III, No. 8, 1.1; p. 41, 1.1; No.10, 1.5; No.12, 1.22; No.13, 1.5-6. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 222, 224, 226, 229, etc.
75. *CII*, III, No.12, 1.24. Altekar, *op.cit.*, pp. 251 ff.
76. *CII*, III, No.25, 1.10; No. 38, 1.8; No. 40, 1.3; No. 41, 1.3; No. 46, 1.2. The Traikūṭakas describe themselves as *Bhagavat-pāda-karma-kara*, *vide CII*, IV, No. 8, 1.1-2; No. 9, 1.1
77. *Ibid.*, Vol. III. No. 27, 1.7.
78. *Ibid.*, No. 36, 1.4; No. 19, 1.6; V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, V, No.2, 1.8.

79. *CII*, III, No.81, l.18. *BMC*, *AWK*, etc. pp. 198f.; *CII*, IV, pp. cxlvii, clxxx. Although the style *Parama-Bhāgavata* is not applied to Samudragupta in any genuine record (he is styled *Parama-Bhāgavata* in the Gaya CP. of AD 328-9, *CII*, III, No.60, p. 236, l.6, but it is regarded as spurious), his adoption of Gaṛuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, as his royal emblem and the representation of *garuḍadhvaja* on his coins amply attest his Viṣṇuite leanings.
80. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, I, p. 402 f.
81. *Classical Age*, pp. 418-9.
82. Cf. Utpala on LIX.19—*Pāñcarātra-vidhinā Viṣṇoḥ*.
83. *ASI*, *AR*, 1911-12, Pt. II, p. 127; R. P. Chanda, *Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition*, *MAI*, No.5, pp 166-67; *EI*, XXIV, p. 194. The inscription was correctly interpreted by J. N. Banerjea, vide *JISOA*, X, pp-65-68; *PIHC*, 7th Session, p. 82.
84. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc. pp. 58-60; *Classical Age*, pp. 415-6.
85. *CII*, III, No. 14, p. 56, stanza 1, fn. 1.
86. *CII*, III, No. 14, p. 49, l.1; No.39, l.14, p. 174.
87. *Ibid.*, No. 67, p. 270, l.1.
88. *Ibid.*, No. 79, p.285, l.4.
89. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism* etc. p. 65 f.; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*. p. 174.
90. See Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Rama—His Divinity in Literature and Epigraphy". *New Trends in Indian Art and Archaeology* (S.R. Rao's 70th Birthday Felicitation Volume), eds. B.U. Nayak and N.C. Ghosh, New Delhi, 1992, pp.193-200.
91. *MAI*, No. 70, Pls. XV-XVII.
92. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 41.
93. जयति धरण्युदधरणे घनघोणाघातधूर्णितमहीद्धः।
देवो वराहमूर्तिस्तैलोक्यमहागृहस्तम्भः॥
Eran stone inscr. of Toramāṇa, *CII*, III, No. 36, l.1. Also Cf. *IHQ*, XXI, p.56 f.
94. Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, VII.56.
95. E.g., the famous Varāha panel at Udayagiri and two beautiful Varāha statues, one in human and the other in animal form, recently found at Eran. Personal names beginning with the word *varāha* also indicate the popularity of the Varāha cult. Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 9, 13, 67, 1195, 1196, 1329, 1712.
96. कार्योष्टभुजो भगवांश्चतुर्भुजो द्विभुज एव वा विष्णुः।
श्रीवत्साङ्कितवक्त्रः कौस्तुभमणिभूषितोरस्कः॥
अतसीकुसमुश्यामः पीताम्बरनिवसनः प्रसन्नमुखः।
कुण्डलकिरीटधारी पीनगलोरःस्थलांसभुजः॥
खड्गगदाशरपाणिर्दक्षिणतः शान्तिदश्चतुर्यकरः।
वामकरेषु च कार्मुकखेटकचक्राणि शङ्खश्च॥
अथ च चतुर्भुजमिच्छति शान्तिद एको गदाघरश्चान्यः।

दक्षिणपार्श्वे त्वेवं वामे शङ्खश्च चक्रं च॥
 द्विभुजस्य तु शान्तिकरो दक्षिणहस्तोपरश्च शङ्खधरः।
 एवं विष्णोः प्रतिमा कर्तव्या भूतिमिच्छद्भिः॥

LVII.31-5.

97. Cf. श्रीवत्साङ्गं कौस्तुभमणिकिरणोद्भासितोरस्कम्॥

XLII.3.

For an epigraphic allusion to *kaustubha* gem, *vide* CII, III, No. 18, p. 83, l.22.

98. Utpala explains it as 'the hand facing the visitor (turned to the front) with fingers raised upwards': *Draṣṭur = abhimukha ūrdhv-āṅguliḥ śāntidaḥ karaḥ*. It is apparently the same as the *abhaya-mudrā* with which the students of Buddhist art are well acquainted.
99. Some of the weapons held are referred to in inscriptions. *Nandaka* is the name of Viṣṇu's sword. Cf. Apsad inscr. of Ādityasena, CII, III, No. 42, p. 203, ll.13-4: *Cakraṁ pāṇittalena so = py = ud = avahat tasy-āpi śārngam dhanur = nāśāy-āsuhrdām sukhāya suhrdām tasy-āpy=asir = Nandakaḥ*. A Gupta inscription mentions him as carrying *cakra* and *gadā* (*cakragadādharaśya*, CII, III, No. 17, p.75, l.26); he is called 'the wielder of discus—*Cakrabhṛt* (*Ibid*, No.14, p.61, l.27), *Cakradhara* (*Ibid*, No. 47, p. 220, l.2), *Cakrapāṇi* (No. 55, p. 237, l.13; No.56, p.248, l.12). His bow was called *Śārngā* in consequence of which he received the appellations *Śārngapāṇi* (*Ibid*, pp.146, 176 (l.32) and *Śārngin* (*ibid*, pp.54(l.17),83 (l.22). For a reference to four-armed Viṣṇu, cf. *ibid*, No. 19; p. 89, ll.1-2; *Jayati vibhuś = caturbhujah catur = ārṇava-vipulasalila-paryānkāḥ*. *Jagataḥ sthity = utpattinyadihetur = garudaketuḥ*. Also cf. YY, IV.30; *Viṣṇor=iv-odyatagadārathapāda-pāṇeh*. *Rathapāda* here denotes a wheel.
100. *JISOA*, V, p. 124; *JUPHS*, XXII (1949), p. 106.
101. *JUPHS* (N. S.), II, Pt. II, pp. 17-19.
102. *Brāhmaṇical Images in the Mathura Art*, p. VII, Nos. 87, 912, 933, 1229; *JISOA*, V, p. 124, Pl. XIV (2).
103. *Ibid*, Nos. 956, 2007, 2052, 2487, 512; *JUPHS*, Jan. 1932, Pl. 2, fig. 3.
104. *CASR*, VI, p. 20; *DHI*, pp. 400-01, fn. 1.
105. An allusion to his three eyes which form an important iconographic feature of the god.
106. आब्रह्मकीटान्तमिदं निबद्धमेतत् पुंस्त्रीप्रयोगेण जगत् समस्तम्।
 व्रीडाञ्ज का यत्र चतुर्मुखत्वमीशोऽपि लोभाद् गमितो युवत्याः॥

LXXIII.20

Cf. चतुर्मुखो येन कृतश्च शम्भुः, *VP*, 4.

107. अत्र पौराणिकी श्रुतिः,

यथा तिलोत्तमायाः प्रदक्षिणं कुर्वाणाया अतिलावण्योपेताया उमाया उत्सङ्गस्थितायाः क्रोधभयाद् भगवता तद्रूपलाम्पट्येन तदवलोकनाय चतसृषु दिक्षु मुखचतुष्टयं सृष्टमिति।

Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Ādi, 210.25-28.

108. For a comprehensive discussion of the evidence of coins and seals, *vide DHI*, Ch. IV-V.
109. For epigraphical allusions to the crescent on Śiva's forehead, cf. *CII*, III, No. 18. II. 22-3; No. 37, 1.8.
110. Cf. *BY*, XVI.6, where Śiva is called वृषवाहन. Cf. *CII*, III, No.33, 1.1.
111. Cf. his names शूलभृत् (XCVII.4) and शूलघृक् (*BY*, XVI.6). Besides he is described as dwarf (वामन), ugly (विरूप), god of gods (देवदेवेश) and as lord of dreams (स्वप्नाधिपति) in *BY*, XVI.5-6.
112. V. S. Agrawala, *Brāhmanical Images in Mathura Art*, Nos. 362, 800, 874. Recently a partly mutilated life-size Ardhanārīśvara figure has been found at Sagar, cf. K. D. Bajpai, *Sagar Through the Ages*, Pl. VI.
113. लिङ्गस्य वृत्तपरिधिं दैर्घ्येणासूत्र्य तत् त्रिधा विभजेत्।
मूले तच्चतुरस्रं मध्ये त्वष्टाश्रि वृत्तमतः॥
चतुरस्रमवनिखाते मध्यं कार्यं तु पिण्डिकाश्वघ्रे।
दृश्योच्छ्रायेण सभा समन्ततः पिण्डिका श्वघ्रात्।
(LVII.53-54).
- Cf. Utpala—श्वघ्रात् पीठविवरात् समन्ततः सर्वासु दिक्षु पीठिका दृश्योच्छ्रायेण समा कार्या दृश्यभागस्य परिवर्तुलस्य लभ्यो य उच्छ्रायस्तत्समः। एतदुक्तं भवति यावत्प्रमाणं वृत्तभागस्य दैर्घ्यं तावत्प्रमाणं समन्ततः पीठिकापृथुत्वं कार्यमिति।
- J. N. Banerjea's rendering of the last line, viz., "the height of the visible (i.e., the topmost cylindrical) section from the pedestal hole should be equal to its periphery" (*DHI*, pp. 588-89), is not borne out by the text or commentary thereon.
114. कृशदीर्घं देशघ्नं पार्श्वविहीनं पुरस्य नाशाय।
यस्य क्षतं भवेन्मस्तके विनाशाय तल्लिङ्गम्॥
(LVII.55).
115. V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, V, pp. xl ff.
116. V. V. Mirashi, *CII*, IV, Introduction, p. cxlvii.
117. *CII*, III, No. 46, 1.3.
118. *Ibid.*, No. 47, 1.1.
119. *Ibid.*, No. 80, 1.5.
120. *Ibid.*, Nos. 38 and 39.
121. *Vide Pāśupata Sūtras*, pp. 8-9. Cf. also Madhvācārya, *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha* (Cowell's tr.), p. 108; *Atharvaśīroṣa Upaniṣad* quoted in J. Muir's *Oriental Sanskrit Texts*, IV, p. 358.
122. Cf. Mathura Pillar Inscription of the time of Candragupta II, *EI*, XXI, pp. 1 ff.
123. *CII*, IV, No. 12, 1.4; No.14, 11. 32-33. The *Dūtaka* of the Abhona pls. was named Pāśupata, *vide CII*, IV, No. 12, 1.34. According to some scholars, the Elephanta caves were excavated in the second half of the sixth century AD when the Kalacuri

power was at its peak, and the cave temple was caused to be carved by the Pāśupatas as is indicated by the figure of Lakuliśa in the recess at the north end of the shrine in the western court of the caves. *Vide CII, IV, p. cxlviii*; Hiranand Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, pp. 33 ff.

124. *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 296, 333; II, 229, 242, 251, 262, 287, 296.

125. Cf. *BJ*, XV.1, where the word *vrddha* is used to denote a Kāpālīka.

126. शिरसि विनिवधन् रन्ध्रिणीमस्थिमालाम्।

CII, III, No. 35, 1.3.

127. *Ibid.*, No.80, 1.9. Nāgavardhana, a nephew of Pulakeśin II, sanctioned a grant for the worship of Kapāleśvara and for the maintenance of Mahāvratins attached to the temple, *vide JBBRAS*, XIV, p.26,

128. S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, pp. 55, 76.

129. Possibility of foreign influence is altogether denied by some scholars. See L.P. Pande, *Sun-Worship in Ancient India*, pp. 177-86.

130. Brahmaparvan, Ch. 139 ff.; see also D. R. Bhandarkar, "Foreign Elements in Hindu Population", *IA*, XL (1911), pp. 17 ff.

131. It was also known as Śāmbapura, evidently after the name of its founder.

132. Alberuni (I.116) also refers to a 'famous idol' dedicated to the Sun and called Āditya at Multan, 'It was of wood and covered with red Cordovan leather; in its two eyes were two red rubies. It is said to have been made in the last Kṛtayuga'. The Sun-cult appears to have been popular in Multan region even as late as the eleventh century AD as may be inferred from the following statement of Alberuni—"The Hindus of Multan have a festival which is called *Sambapura-yātrā*; they celebrate it in honour of the Sun and worship him' (*ibid.*, II.p.184).

133. नासाललाटजङ्घोरुगण्डवक्षांसि चोन्नतानि रवेः।

कुर्यादुदीच्यवेषं गूढं पादादुरो यावत्॥

बिभ्राणः स्वकररुहे बाहुभ्यां पङ्कजे मुकुटधारी।

कुण्डलभूषितवदनः प्रलम्बहारो वियद्गवृतः॥

कमलोदरद्युतिमुखः कञ्चुकगुप्तः स्मितप्रसन्नमुखः।

रत्नोज्ज्वलप्रभामण्डलश्च कर्तुः शुभकरोऽर्कः॥

LVII.46-8.

With some difference these stanzas (LVII.46-52) are quoted in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, CXXXII.24-30. But the latter deletes *bibhrāṇaḥ sva-kararuhe* etc. and substitutes *āditya-veṣa* and *grha-vrataḥ* for *uḍīcyā-veṣa* and *viyadga-vṛtaḥ* respectively.

134. Sometimes *urū* meaning 'thigh' is proposed to be substituted for the reading *uro* (*uras*) meaning 'breast' and the restored expression *gūḍham pādād = urū yāvat* is taken to mean 'covered from feet to the thigh' (S.C. Deb, "Śākadvpa", *ABORI*, XXXVI, pp. 358ff., N.P. Joshi, *Prācīna Bhāratiya Mūrti-vijñāna* (Hindi), Patna, 1977, p.160; S.R. Goyal, *A Religious History of Ancient India*, II, Meerut,

- 1986, p. 337, fn. 1). But the reading *uro* is definitely as old as at least the ninth century AD, for Utpala, who flourished during this period, not only accepted this reading but also explained the expression containing this word by *pādāt prabhṛty-uro vākṣo yāvat / gūḍham colaka-guṇṭam* which has obviously no reference to the shoes but only to *colaka* or tunic which extended right up to the feet.
135. Cf. Utpala—स्वकरुहे स्वनखे बाहुभ्यां पङ्कजे कमले विभ्राणः सहजनखस्य करलग्नत्वात् सपत्रभागस्य बाहोर्नालत्वाच्च कमले विभ्राणः।
136. V. S. Agrawala, *Brāhmaṇical Images*, etc., Nos. 595, 1058, D. 3, D. 15, D. 33, 890, 1208, 1200, 2339, D. 16.
137. *MAI*, No. 16, p. 13, Pl. XIV (a).
138. V. S. Agrawala, *Brāhmaṇical Images*, Nos. 269, D 46; see his remarks.
139. आदित्यस्तरुणः सखी कवची खड्गघृत् तथा।
तेजस्वी पङ्कजकरः पङ्कजश्च किरीटवान्॥
140. *CII*, III, No.38, p. 165, l.10. Some Gurjara chiefs of Nāndipurī branch also were devotees of Sūrya, *Vide CII*, IV, No. 16, l.4, No.21, ll. 1-2; No.24, l.1.
141. *Ibid.*, No. 52, p. 232, ll.2, 3, 6.
142. *Ibid.*, No. 16, p. 70.
143. Khoh CP. of Mahārāja Śarvanātha, *ibid.*, No. 28.
144. *Ibid.*, No. 37, pp. 162-63.
145. *Ibid.*, No. 46, p. 216, l.12.
146. *Ibid.*, No. 18, pp. 81 ff.
147. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 352.
148. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 88.
149. V. 19, 22; XI.23; XCVII.4.
150. XXXII.7; XCVII.4.
151. LXXIX.9; YY, VI.6.
152. LXXXV.75.
153. XI.11; VIII.23.
154. VIII.26; LIII.3.
155. V. 19, 22; LXXIX. 9; LXXX. 8. XCVII. 4; VIII. 23, 26; XXXII.7.
156. *MAI*, No.55, p. 48, pl. XXXII (b).
157. V. 19, 23; XXXIV.2; LIII.3; LXXXV.75; XCVII.4; XCVIII.1; XCIX.1; LXXIX.8; LXXX.7; XLII.43, 52. Cf. YY. VI.8, where black-flowers, flag and perfumes are prescribed for him.
158. Bāṇa in his *Harṣa-carita* describes canvas paintings of Yama riding a terrific buffalo.
159. *MAI*, 16, p. 12, Pl. XII c.

- 159a. Devendra Hāndā, *op.cit.* p. 149.
160. *Vide* K. C. Panigrahi, *op.cit.*, fig. 35a (Paraśurāmeśvara temple). Another similar figure is also encountered in the Brahmeśvara temple at the same place.
161. In YY, VI.1 (I.1) which names the guardians of the quarters the lord of the northern quarter is called a Yakṣa. It appears to be a veiled allusion to Kubera as the king of Yakṣas.
- 161a. Devendra Handa, *op.cit.*, p. 160.
162. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p.49.
163. रयचक्राभं दशमं सूर्यस्त्वष्टा प्रभायुक्तम्। XLII.46. In the Vedic pantheon Tvaṣṭr probably represented the creative aspect of Sun. Cf. *Vedic Mythology*, p. 117.
164. The six-month period presided over by Agni is known as Mitra, V. 22. Cf. *Rv* 10.8.4; 3.5.4; 5.3.1. etc. where Mitra is closely connected with Agni.
165. XI.24; XXXII.8; XLV.63.
166. LIII.3; LXXXV.75; XCVII.4.
167. XXXII.7.
168. XXXIV.2.
169. XCIX.2.
170. XLV.45.
171. XCVII.4; XCIX.2; XXXII.7-8; XXXIV.2; XI.24; XLV.45, 63-64.
172. LIII.3; LXXXV.75; YY. VI.1.
173. Cf. Comm. on XCVII.5 (*Nirṛti rākṣaso mūlasya*); LXXXV.75 (*Rākṣāsānām adhipatiḥ*); LIII.3 (*Rākṣasādhipatiḥ*).
174. V. S. Agrawala, *Brāhmaṇical Images in Mathura Art*, p. VIII.
175. Mathura Museum, Nos. C 19, D 36, etc.
176. G. H. Khare, *Mūrti-vijñāna*, Pl. XI.
177. *MASI*, No.55, p.45, Pl.XXII (b).
178. See Md. Abdul waheed Khan, *An early Sculpture of Narasimha* (A.P. Government, Archaeological Series, No.10, Hyderabad), 1964, p.3 and Plate.
179. For a Kuśāṇa terracotta figure of Kāmadeva from Mathura standing on the prostrate body of Śūrpaka holding a bow and a sheath of arrows in his left and right hands respectively see V.S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 316, fig. 241.
180. Another reason of his expulsion may have been his birth from Jāmbavatī, the non-Aryan consort of Vāsudeva. According to epic and Purāṇa tradition, she was a daughter of the Rkṣa king through Śiva's grace. The *Mahāummagga-jātaka* makes her a Caṇḍalā woman. See *Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 388.
181. *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vol. II (Sculpture), p. 46.
182. *JISOA*, XII, pp. 129 ff.

183. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 68.
184. *JISOA*, XII, pp. 129-34.
185. प्रमथाधिपो गजमुखः प्रलम्बजठरः कुठारधारी स्यात्।
एकविषाणो विभ्रन्मूलककन्दं सुनीलदलकन्दम्॥
186. एकदंष्ट्रो गजमुखश्चतुर्बाहुर्विनायकः।
लम्बोदरः स्थूलदेहो नेत्रत्रयविभूषितः॥
187. The *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* (II.83-9) which prescribes the propitiation of Vighna, Vināyaka, Vira, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekatuṇḍa and Lambodara, is of doubtful authenticity.
188. The *Baijavāpa Gṛhya*, cited by Aparārka on *Yājñavalkya* I. 275, replaces Usmita and Devayajana by Sammita and Mita.
189. Viśvarūpa and Aparārka take the Vināyakas to be four; but Vijñāneśvara makes them six by regarding Śāla and Kaṭankaṭa, and Kuśmāṇḍa and Rājaputra as distinct.
190. *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism* etc., p. 212.
191. Agrawala's *Brāhmaṇical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 37.
192. Allan, *CCGD*, pp. 84 ff. Pl. XV, 5-14; Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Pl. XIII, 11-14.
193. *IA*, VI, p. 27.
194. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 74; VII, p. 162; XIII, p. 137f.
195. *CII*, III, No. 10, p. 44, 1.8. For other inscriptions connected with the worship of Skanda, *vide ibid.*, No. 42, 1.6; No. 79, p. 286; No.39, 1.49; No. 12, 1.9.
196. Cf. *Amarakoṣa* I.1.39-40.
197. *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya* (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay), Vol.IV, p. 403.
198. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 223.
199. Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Scythians and Parthians*, Pl. XXVIII, figures 22-23 (Skanda and Viśākha), 24 (Skanda, Mahāsena and Viśākha). Bhandarkar's view that here we have representation of three and four gods respectively is incorrect.
200. It may be suggested here that 'deva-senāpatiḥ' would be a better reading in place of 'devaḥ senāpatiḥ'.
201. *BS* (Divedi's ed.), Vol. II, 786.
202. *CII*, III, No. 42, p. 203, 1.6; *Hara iva śikhivāhanam tanayam*.
203. *Ibid.*, No.39, p. 177, 1.49, *śikhaṇḍi-ketana*; No.79, p.286, mentions Kārttikeya as god of war.
204. *BMCAI*, pp. cxlix, 270, Pl. XXXIX, 21.
205. *Ibid.*, pp. cl, 270-71, Pl XXXIX 20; XL 10, 11, 12.
206. *Ibid.*, p. cl, Pl. XL.1-7. For Kārttikeya on uninscribed copper coins from Ujjayini

- see *ibid.*, Pls. XXXVIII.1-17, XXXVII.19.21 (single-headed), XXXVII.18-22 (six-headed).
207. For a learned discussion of the numismatic material, *vide DHI*, pp. 141-46.
208. *CCGD*, Pl. XV, figs. 5-14; Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Pl. XIII.11-14.
209. For a Kārttikeya image from Kanauj see *IA*, *AR*, 1960-61, Pl. LXXIX.13.
For a beautiful image showing the god seated on peacock from the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, see K.C. Panigrahi, *op.cit.*, fig. 103.
210. Cf. Utpala's remarks:—
यः परिवारः सः मृगयायुक्तः क्रीडायुक्तः आदि- ग्रहणादश्ववाहने तत्परीक्षणं तदन्येषणादि।
211. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1584; *CII*, IV, No.95, 1.26.
212. Bidya Binod, "An illustrated Note on an Indian Deity called Revanta", *JASB*, 1909, pp. 391-92, Pl. XXX. For some other Revanta figures vide N. B. Sanyal, "A New Type of Revanta from Dinajpur District", *IHQ*, III, pp. 469-72 and plate facing page 469. (The author quotes original texts from the *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Kālikāpurāṇa* throwing light on Revanta's iconography); N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 177, Pl. LXII (a); *MASI*, No. 23, Pl. XLVI(a); *ASI*, *AR*, 1928-29, Pl. LIV(b).
213. T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, pp. 381-82. According to the *Suprabhedāgama*, however, the Mātṛs were created by Brahmā for killing Nairṛta: *Nairṛtasya vadh-ārthāya Brahmaṇā c-āpi nirmitāḥ* (quoted by D. N. Shukla in *Pratimalakṣaṇa*).
214. ब्रह्मेशगुहविष्णूनां तथेन्द्रस्य च शक्तयः।
शरीरेभ्यो विनिष्क्रम्य तद्रूपैश्चण्डिकां ययुः॥
यस्य देवस्य यद् रूपं यथाभूषणवाहनम्।
तद्वदेव हि तच्छक्तिरसुरान् योद्धुमाययौ॥
Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, LXXXVII. 12-3.
215. एवमन्यासां नारसिंहिवाराहिवैनायकीनामूढम्
on LVII.56.
216. *IA*, VI, p. 74; VII, p. 162; XIII, p. 137f. They were also tutelary deities of the early Kadambas, vide *IA* VI, p. 27.
217. V. S. Agrawala, *Brāhmaṇical Images in Mathura Art*, preface, p. XI, Nos. 880 (two) F, 34, 1362, 2025, 1024 (three Mothers). It shows that the Mother goddesses could be shown in early art in any number less than seven.
218. A number of Kusāṇa sculptural panels are described by V.S. Agrawala in his *Brāhmaṇical Images in Mathura Art*, pp.59 ff.
219. Utpala explains it simply as *Pūjā-krama*. It must, however, refer to the magical circles (*maṇḍalas*) which form an essential aspect of Tantric ritualism. It is noteworthy in this connection that almost all the 64 Yoginī temples (e.g., Bhereghat, Ranipur Jharial, Mitauli, Dudhai), which are closely connected with

the mother goddess cult, are circular in plan. The *maṇḍala* ceremony played an important part in Śaiva ritual also when it came under the impact of Tantricism cf. *Harṣacarita*, pp, 155, 164.

220. मातृणामपि मण्डलक्रमविदः LIX.19. Utpala's remarks are worth quoting :
मातृणां ब्राह्म्यादीनाम् । मण्डलक्रमविदो ये मण्डलक्रमं पूजाक्रमं विदन्ति जानन्ति । तान् स्थापकान् विदुःमातृणां स्वकल्पविहितविधानेन.....

221. मातृ(तृ)णां च प्रमुदितघनात्यर्थनिर्वादिनीनाम्,
तन्त्रोद्भूतप्रबलपवनोद्धर्तिताम्भोनिधीनाम् ।
....गतमिदं डाकिनीसम्प्रकीर्णम्,
वेश्मात्युग्रं नृपतिसचिवोऽकारयत् पुण्यहेतोः ॥

CII, III, No. 17 pp. 76, 78.

222. *Annual Report of the Archaeology Department*, Gwalior State, 1925-26, pp. 12, 25, App. D, No. 15.

223. See *supra*, p. 154, fn. 2.

224. किन्तु तासां स्तनशोभा मध्यक्षमता नितम्बवैपुल्यं कार्यं येन प्रकारेण स्त्रीरूपस्य शोभा जायत इति ।

225. It is curious to note that the Bihar stone pillar inscr. of the time of Skandagupta associates Skanda with the Divine Mothers : *Skanda-pradhānair = bhuvi mātṛbhiḥ = ca*, CII, III, No. 12, p. 49, l.9.

226. Mathura Museum Nos. F. 38, F. 39, G. 57, 126, 1179, etc.

227. For a beautiful but late Sapta-Mātrka panel from Haveri (Dharwad) beginning with Virabhadra and ending with Gaṇeśa, see G. H. Khare, *op. cit.*, fig.76. For some separate reliefs from Puri and other places in Orissa, *vide DHI*, Pls. XLII-XLIV.

228. For relevant text of the *Harivaṁśa*, *vide JRASB* (Third Series), 1936, pp. 41-2, note.

229. In the *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* Purāṇas she is called Yoganidrā, Mahāmāyā and Vaiṣṇavī.

230. एकानंशा कार्या देवी बलदेवकृष्णयोर्मध्ये ।
कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोद्धहती ॥
कार्या चतुर्भुजा या वामकराभ्यां सपुस्तकं कमलम् ।
द्वाभ्यां दक्षिणपार्श्वे वरमर्थिष्वक्षसूत्रं च ॥
वामेऽथाष्टभुजायाः कमण्डलुश्चापमम्बुजं शास्त्रम् ।
वरशदर्पणयुक्ताः सव्यभुजाः साक्षसूत्राश्च ॥

LVII.37-39.

231. Utpala defines *varada* as the pose in which the palm is shown inside-out with fingers pointing downwards— उत्तानोऽधोऽङ्गुलिर्हस्तो वरदः (on LVIII.38)

232. एकानंशापि कर्तव्या देवी पद्मकरा तथा ।
कटिस्थवामहस्ता सा मध्यस्था रामकृष्णयोः ॥

233. *JUPHS*, 1935, Part II.

234. *JRASB* (Third Series), II (1936), pp. 41-46.

235. *JBORS*, XXVII (1941), pp. 50-60

236. *JRASB*, Letters, XVI, No. 2, 1950, pp. 247-51, Pl. XII.

It has been suggested by some that under the name Subhadrā, Ekānamśā, along with Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa is the principal object of worship in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhuvaneshwar and in Jagannāth temple at Puri, vide *JRASB*, 1936, pp. 43 ff.

237. Vide Krishna Kumar, "An Ekānamśā Relief of Ellora" *JIH*, XLIV, pp. 831-38.

238. Cf. *CII*, III. No.33, p. 146, l.1, where she is called *Kṣitidhara-tanayā*.

239. XLV.13, Cf. XLVII.26, 58 for references to consorts of gods.

240. XLVII.58.

241. XLVII.56; XXVI.2 (where balance is called Sarasvatī); *TY*, I.2 (where she is invoked along with Viṣṇu, Brahmā, etc.).

242. आदित्य-विश्व-वसवस्तुषिता भास्वरानिलाः ।

महाराजिक-साध्याश्च रुद्राश्च गणदेवताः ॥

Amarakoṣa, I. 1.10.

243. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 43-4.

244. VIII.23, 41; XCVII.5; XCVIII.1; XLII.47. The *mantras* addressed to them are referred to in XLIII.6.

245. Cf. the following verses cited from an unnamed source by Bhānuji Dikṣita in his commentary on *Amara* I.1.10 :

आदित्या द्वादश प्रोक्ता विश्वेदेवा दश स्मृताः ।

वसवश्चाष्टसंख्याताः षट्त्रिंशत्तुषिता मताः ।

आभास्वराश्चतुःषष्टिर्वाताः पञ्चाशदूनकाः ।

महाराजिकनामानो द्वे शते विंशतिस्तथा ॥

साध्या द्वादश विख्याता रुद्राश्चैकादश स्मृताः ॥

246. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

247. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

248. XCVII.5. It may be pointed out here that in the Āgamas the name Ajaikapāda is split up into Aja and Ekapāda who are regarded as two distinct Rudras. Vide D.N. Sukla, *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa*, pp. 184 ff.

249. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 77,81.

250. Cf. *disam patayah*, LIII.3.

251. पुरुहूतानलयमनिर्ऋतिवरुणपवनेन्दुशङ्करा देवाः ।

विज्ञातव्याः क्रमशः प्राच्याद्यानां दिशां पतयः ॥

LIII.3.

सुरपतिहुतवहयमनिर्ऋतिवरुणपवनेन्दुशङ्कराः क्रमशः । प्राच्याद्यानां पतयः

LXXXV.75

The Mahābhārata (Karna-parva, XLV.32) also names Soma as the lord of the northern quarter.

252. In early works, it should be remembered, there is a great deal of difference in the enumeration of the guardians of different quarters. Cf. *Manu*, V.96; *Mahābhārata*, VIII.45-31 f. For an elaborate discussion on this Question, see *DHI*, pp. 519-22.

253. पुरुहूतहुताशयमा निर्वृतिवरुणानिलयक्षशिवाश्च दिशाम्।
पुनरकसितारतमो रविजाः शशिसौम्यबृहस्पतयः पतयः॥

YY, VI.1.

254. ब्रजेद् दिगीशं हृदये निवेश्य यथेन्द्रमैन्द्रयामपरांश्च तद्वत्।

BY, XX.1.

Cf. पुरुहूतदिशं नृपोभियुज्यात् पुरुहूतं हृदये निवेश्य सम्यक्॥

YY, VI.3.

The king was also to worship the image of the protector of the direction concerned before undertaking a military campaign, cf. *BY*, XVI.1, which is identical with *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*, II.5; *YY*, VI.19.

255. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 326.

256. For a detailed discussion of this question see my article "Heracles in front of the Infantry of Porus" in *JIH*, XLII, pp. 119-26; *Varahamihira and his Times*, pp. 80-90. We have shown elsewhere that the image in question must have been that of Vāyu, guardian deity of north-west, the direction in which the army of Porus must have been marching as can be concluded from an analysis of the classical evidence bearing on the question. See *ibid.*, pp. 85-87.

257. Utpala explains *Piśācālaya* as *Yakṣasthāna*, confusing Piśācas with Yakṣas.

258. अनर्चितास्ते नृपतिं सवाहनं विनाशयन्ति क्षपयन्ति वा चमूः।
सुपूजिताः सिद्धिकरा भवन्ति ते प्रबाधकाः शत्रुगणस्य चाहवे॥

BY, XV.14.

259. The manes, Piśācas, Rākṣasas and Bhūtas were believed to be lurking trees and they were to be worshipped with offerings before cutting down a tree (*vide* XLII.17; LVIII.9-11).

260. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (Dover ed. 1965), Figs. 9, 17.

261. *Matsya-purāṇa*, Ch. 180; V. S. Agrawala, *Matsya-Purāṇa— A Study*, pp. 279-81; *Vāmana-Purāṇa : A Study*, pp. 13, 46, 66-67, etc.

262. चमूसमेता अनुयान्तु पृष्ठतो विचित्रमाल्याभरणाः मदोत्कटाः।
विचित्रवस्त्रा जटिलाः किरीटिनः कराललम्बोदरकुब्जवामनाः॥

BY, XV.12.

263. Daitya, XIII.11; XLII.2; LXXIX.3; Diti-tanaya, XLVII.30; Dānava, XLVII.30; XIII.11; Asura, XLII.1, 5.

264. *Vide* the SS couplet cited by the commentator on XII.13.

265. प्रीतैः पीडा न स्यादुच्चाद्यदि पतति विशति यदि वा भुजंगविजृम्भितम्।

CIII.47.

266. For different sculptural materials, sacrificial fuel-sticks, flowers, priests and their fees, food, etc. in connection with Grahayajña, see CIII.47; *BY*, Ch. XVIII.
267. For late Gupta and mediaeval Graha reliefs, cf. *DHI*, Pl. XXXI, figs. I-2; for textual evidence on their iconography, see Khare, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-43.
268. Cf. VIII.1 where Jupiter is described as *devapati-mantrin*; *YY*, VI.7 where Venus is styled *ditisuta-guru*.
269. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 125.
270. Cf. *Naiṣadhīya-carita* I. 100, where Kuhū is styled *candra-vairiṇī*.
271. Cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
272. भानोर्वर्मविघातवृद्धशिखरो विन्ध्याचलः स्तम्भितो
वातापिर्मुनिकुक्षिभित् सूरिपुर्जीर्णश्च येनासुरः।
पीतश्चाम्बुनिधिस्तपोऽम्बुनिधिना याम्या च दिग्भूषिता
तस्यागस्त्यमुनेः पयश्च्युतिकृतश्चारः समासादयम्॥ (cited on XII.13).
273. E.g., Chhargaoon Nāga of Huviṣka's time, Vogel, *Catalogue of Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, No. C13, p. 88, Pl. XIX.
274. हुताशसक्त V.33; यज्ञभृतः XIII.11; हुताशतत्पर XXIV.6; यज्या LXVII.47; यज्ञप्रसक्तधीः LXVIII.38.
275. V.14.
276. V.28; XIII.11; VIII.9; XV.6; XVI.8; XIX.13; LXVIII.38.
277. V.98; XVII.15; XIX.6.
278. XIX.13.
279. XLV.45.
280. XLV.64.71.
281. ध्वनिरुच्चरितोऽध्वरे द्युगामी विपुलो यज्ञमुषां मनांसि भिन्दन्।
विचरत्यनिशं द्विजोत्तमानां हृदयानन्दकरोऽध्वरांशभाजाम्॥
XIX.13.
282. यक्ष्येऽश्वमेधेन विजित्य धात्रीमित्येवमभ्युद्यमिनो नृपस्य।
BY.1.2.
283. *Vide* his Aśvamedha type coins bearing the legend *aśomodha-parākramah*, one whose prowess is demonstrated by the performance of the horse-sacrifice. In the Poona, C.P. inscr. of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā (V.V.Mirashi, *CII*, No.2,1.3), Samudragupta is described as 'the performer of many horse-sacrifices' (*anek-āśvamedha-yājīn*). Rapson (*JRAS*, 1901, p.102) and Allan (*Catalogue of Gupta coins*, p. xxxi) invite our attention to a seal with the figure of a horse and the legend *parākrama* and a stone figure of a horse in Lucknow which are in all probability reminiscent of Samudragupta's Aśvamedha.
284. Cf. his Aśvamedha type coins in Bayana Hoard.
285. In the inscriptions of his successors Pravarasena I is styled चतुरश्वमेधयाजिन. See *CII*, V, p. Nos. 4-5, I.2; No. 6, 1.2, etc.

286. यज्ञेष्टिसक्ताः, 15-6; क्रतुवोष्टि, 19.6.
287. HDS, II, pp.986, 981 fn.No.2228.
288. J.L.Shastri's edition gives the reading *śuddha* and mentions the variant *śilpa*. This verse is cited by Utpala (BS, p.525) without indicating its source and the reading given there is *śubha*. The reading given in the text is the one adopted by V.R. Pandit.
289. YY, VIII,1-2; BY, XVIII, 1-2. The YY verses in question are cited by Utpala in his commentary on XLIII.8, p.525.
290. सप्तहस्ता ब्राह्मणानां वेदी यज्ञे प्रकीर्तिता।
 षट्करा क्षत्रियाणां तु पञ्चहस्ता विशां स्मृता॥
 चतुर्हस्ता तु शूद्राणां विवाहेऽपि सुनिश्चितम्।
 भुवे (read भुवो) ऽलाभेऽपि सर्वेषां चतुर्हस्ता प्रकीर्तिता॥
 इतराणामतो न्यूना निर्दिष्टा मूनिभिः सदा।
 अतो हीनाधिका वेदी यजमानस्य मृत्युदा॥
 यज्ञे विवाहे वक्ष्यामि वेदीमानं समासतः।
 त्रिसप्तहस्तविस्तारो ब्राह्मणानां प्रकीर्तितः॥
 क्षत्रियाणां पञ्चदश वैश्यानां नवमिता।
 कराः सप्त च शूद्राणां शिल्पिनां पञ्च कीर्तिता॥
 त्रिहस्ता इतराणां तु वेदीक्षेत्रमुदाहृतम्।
 भुवोऽप्यलाभे मर्त्यानां चातुर्वर्ण्ये प्रकीर्तिता।
 पञ्चहस्तमिता वेदी सर्वमङ्गलदायिका।
 त्यक्त्वा तु मध्यमपदं ब्रह्मस्थानान्निधापयेत्॥
 क्षेत्रस्यैशानभागे तु हस्तमात्रां समुत्थिताम्।
 चतुरस्रां मध्यसमां वेदीं कुर्यात् सुलक्षणाम्॥

These verses follow YY, VIII.1. They are not found in Kern's and J.L. Shastri's editions. These stanzas are included in the YY. MS. No.I.O.2110 (E 2990-R.R.2 E) of the India Office Library and with the exception of the first four lines in No.Acc.70-1869-70 (New No.1D) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. These are quoted in a footnote of his YY edition (unpublished) by V.R. Pandit. It is interesting to find these lines quoted by Utpala in his commentary on XLIII.8. Utpala cites a large number of verses and the first verse (not quoted by us) is expressly described by him as belonging to an *anyaśāstra* or another work of the *Ācārya* (i.e. Varāhamihira). Regarding other lines which he prefixes by *तथा च* nothing can definitely be said. They probably belonged to the YY as will appear from their inclusion in the aforesaid Mss. and from the statement of Utpala on BS, XL.III.8, p.525. that the *Ācārya* (Varāhamihira) has already described *vedī* (*vedī-lakṣaṇam ācāryeṇ-oktam*). Varāhamihira himself avers that he described the *vedī* in connection with *grahayāga* in his *Yātrā* work (XLIII.14).

291. V.33; XXIV.6.
292. XLII.32.
293. XCVI.11.
294. *Sattvair = alidham na-pipīla-makṣikā-mal-āvilam vā vijaya-pradam haviḥ*, YY, VIII.3.

295. For a long list of articles offered in sacrifices, *vide* BY, IV.24-7.
296. सर्वयज्ञ, V.28; यज्ञविद् XVI.8(Utpala—यज्ञसूत्रविदः); मन्त्रसूत्रभाष्यज्ञ, XV.1 where Utpala takes *sūtra* to mean *yajñāsāstra*.
297. दक्षः प्रगल्भोऽविकलो विनीतस्तादृग्विधस्तस्य पुरोहितोऽपि।
BY.I.4
298. मन्त्राभिषेकमणिबंधनशान्तिकर्महोमोपवाससुरयागजयादिमात्रम्।
स्यात्सिद्धिहेतुरथ चेद्विजिगीषतोरीन् कस्मात्तदा नरपतिर्न भवेत्पुरोधाः॥
YY.I.6

299. Cf. XLV.58, 64, 71 which refer to *homas* involving profuse *dakṣiṇā*.
300. LIX.19 which enumerates persons fit to instal images indicates that the various sects had already developed peculiar modes of worshipping their respective deities. Reference must be made in this connection to the concluding verse of the chapter (LIX.22) which states that Varāhamihira has in this chapter dealt with this subject in a general and succinct manner and that the preliminary consecration and installation proper are dwelt at length in the *Sāvitra Śāstra*; or, according to another interpretation, the consecration and installation of Sūrya are dealt with elaborately in the *Śāstra* of the Sauras:

सामान्यमिदं समासतो लोकानां हितदं मया कृतम्।
अधिवासनसन्निवेशने सावित्रे पृथगेव विस्तरात्॥

Cf. Utpala-

सावित्रे शास्त्रे प्रत्येकस्य देवस्याधिवासनसन्निवेशने अधिवासनं प्रतिष्ठापनं निवेशनं च ते पृथक्पृथक्विस्तराद्विस्तारेण तत्र भवतः अथवा सावित्रे सवितुरादित्यस्य ये अधिवासनसन्निवेशने पृथगेव विस्तरात् तच्छास्त्रे सौरे भवत इति।

301. LIX.1. According to a var. reading (*saumyāyām*) noted by Utpala, the pavilion was to be constructed in the north.
302. LIX.2-3. The eastern, south-eastern, southern and south-western, western, north-western, northern, and north-eastern sides of the pavilion were to be decorated with flowers and banners of variegated, red, black, white, slightly yellowish, variegated, and yellow colours respectively.
303. LIX.7. For *bhadrāsana* see *infra* Ch.IV., Section 7.
304. *Sarvauśadhis*, according to Utpala (on LIX.8), comprise *jayā*, *jayantī*, *jīvantī*, *jīvaṣṣṭrī*, *Punarnavā*, *viṣṇukrāntī*, *abhayā*, *viśvambharī*, *mahāmodā*, *sahadevī*, *pūrṇakośā*, *śatāvārī*, *sahasravārī* and *lakṣmaṇā*.
305. LIX.8-10. V.S. Sastri (his edition of BS, p.523) begins his translation of these verses with 'the image with its head pointing to the east should be bathed with....'. J.N. Banerjea (*DHI*, p.566) renders the beginning of verse 10 (*pūrvaśiraskām snātām*) as 'when the image is being bathed with...it should be placed with its head towards the east.' The former presumes that the image is placed with its head to the east prior to its bath, while the latter thinks that the two acts of bathing and placing the image with its head to the east are simultaneous. That

both these renderings are incorrect is shown by the following extract from Utpala—*Kṛtasnātām pūrvasiraskām pūvasyām diśi śiraḥ kṛtvā nyaset sthāpayet*.

306. LIX.11.

307. LIX.12-3. Some of the deities whose iconography is given above are undoubtedly of post-Vedic origin and therefore only Purāṇic *mantras* could be uttered in their case. But curiously enough Utpala tells us that Vedic *mantras* pertaining to the god whose image was to be installed were to be recited:— *tad = daivatayair = vaidikair = mantraih*. Does it indicate that even Paurāṇic *mantras* had come to be regarded as Vedic in Utpala's time?

308. LIX.14-5.

309. LIX.16-8

310. विष्णोर्भागवातान् मगांश्च सवितुः शम्भोः सभस्मद्विजान्
मातृणामपि मण्डलक्रमविदो विप्रान् विदुर्ब्रह्मणः ।
शाक्यान् सर्वहितस्य शान्तमनसो नग्नान् जिनानां विदु-
र्ये यं देवमुपाश्रिताः स्वविधिनां तैस्तस्य कार्या क्रिया ॥

LIX.19

Utpala's remarks are worth-quoting: पञ्चरात्रविधिना विष्णोः । सौरदर्शनविधानेन सवितुः वातुलतन्त्रोक्तेनान्यतन्त्रोक्तविधिना वा शम्भोः मातृणां स्वकल्पविहितविधानेन ब्रह्मणो वेदविहितकर्मणा बुद्धस्य पारमिताक्रमेण अर्हतां तद्दर्शनविधिना क्रिया कार्या ।

311. The following articles were most commonly used as will appear from numerous references: seasonal perfumes, flowers and fruits, gems, gold, cloths, delicious food preparations like *palala*, *ullopikā*, wines and curds, flesh, drinks, incense, clarified butter, honey, fried rice, bath, unguents, *madhuparka* (a mixture of honey, clarified butter and curds or milk), and animal offerings (*vide* XII.11, 15-18; XXIV.6; XLII.60; XLIV.14; XLV.15-6; 36,58; XLVII.18-19, 27-8; LII.97, 123; LVIII.4, 8-9; LIX.14, etc.).

312. *El*, II, p.227; XI. pp.26-7; XIII.58; *Rājataranṅiṇī*, IV.269-71.

313. *Daivatayātrā* is the reading given in printed editions. The variant *surayātrā* is noticed by Utpala, XLV.9.

314. उत्पातप्रतीकारार्थं वेदोक्तमन्त्रपाठविनियोगानुष्ठाता शान्तिकविद्याभिज्ञः

BS, Vol.I, p.21.

315. Also cf. XCVI.17.

316. *Nirājana* is called a *śānti* in XLIII.2,6, 21. The house wherein *Nirājana* was held is called *śāntisādma* or *śānti-grha* (XLIII.4, 5); the recitation of *śāntika mantras* is prescribed in XLIII.20.

317. *Arthaśāstra*, BK.II, Chs.30, 32, pp.135, 139; *Raghuvamśa*, IV.25.

318. That Utpala is mistaken in taking *Pañcadaśī* to refer to both *Pūrṇimā* and *Amāvāsyā* is shown by the specification of bright fortnight in the couplet under reference (i.e. XLIII.2).

319. भगवति जलधरपक्ष्मक्षपाकराक्षणे कमलनाभे ।
उन्मीलयति तुरङ्गमकरिनरीराजनं कुर्यात् ॥

द्वादश्यामष्टम्यां कार्तिकशुक्लस्य पञ्चदश्यां वा ।
आश्वयुजे वा कुर्यान्नीराजनसंज्ञितां शान्तिम् ॥

Viṣṇu gets up on the 11th of the bright half of Kārttika. According to Utpala, it shows that *Nirājana* was not to be solemnised during rains.

320. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 30.51; II, 32.21.

321. XLIII.3-14.

322. XLIII.15-20.

323. XLIII.21-8.

324. *Oṣadhis* are enumerated in XLVII.39-41.

325. XLVII.52-3 is called a *mantra*; it describes the qualities of clarified butter.

326. *Harṣacarita*, VII, pp.273-74.

327. For the procedure of *Koṭihoma*, vide *HDS*, Vol.V, Part I, p.290, Part II, pp.752-54, 761.

328. *Manu*, II 26-7. For a discussion of the purposes of the *saṃskāras*, see R.B. Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras*, Ch.III.

329. It is said that the ears should be pierced when the benefics are posited in the 11th house, when an auspicious sign is rising and is not associated with the malefics and Jupiter is in *Lagna*, and when the moon is posited in any one of the asterisms Puṣya, Mṛgaśīras, Citrā, Śravaṇā and Revatī.

330. But *contra Mahābhārata*, XIII, 19.7, 11, where *sāmudrikas* and astrologers are included among the *apāṅkṭeyas*.

331. See *supra*, pp.166-67.

332. Under the name *Nakṣatra-puruṣa-vrata* it is described in detail in the *Matsya* (Ch.54) and *Vāmana* (Ch.80) *Purāṇas*.

333. Utpala defines *abhicāra* as follows (p.20):-

कृत्यावेतालोत्थापनमारणोपादनविद्वेषणवशीकरणस्तम्भनचालनादिकमभिचारविद्या ।

334. Cf.VIII.12; XLV.75 where persons devoted (*bhakta*) to *pākhaṇḍas* are referred to.

335. पद्माङ्कितकरचरणः प्रसन्नमूर्तिः सुनीचकेशश्च ।

पद्मासनोपविष्टः पितेव जगतो भवति बुद्धः ॥

LVII.44.

Utpala records the variant '*sunīta*' which J.N. Banerjea (*DHI*, p.587) takes to refer to the short curls on Buddha's head turning from left to right, *dakṣiṇāvartamūrdhaja*, a characteristic sign of the Buddha.

336. आजानुलम्बबाहुः श्रीवत्साङ्कः प्रशान्तमूर्तिश्च ।

दिग्वासास्तरुणो रूपवांश्च कार्योऽर्हतां देवः ॥

LVII: 45.

337. For a full discussion of this reference, vide my paper in *JOIB*, XII, 44-50.

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Varāhamihira presents us with a life-like picture of contemporary social life in its various aspects. The life depicted in our work is unique in more than one

way; many a recondite side of human life ordinarily not represented in literary compositions is revealed with meticulous details here. We may now proceed to analyse our data.

I

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

VARṆA

The institution of four castes (*cāturvarṇya*) was the foundation stone of Hindu social organisation. It is referred to both as *Varṇa*¹ and *Jāti*². In contradistinction to the Śūdras, the first three *varṇas* were collectively known as *dvija* or *dvijātī*³, for their members were entitled to perform the *Upanayana* (initiation) ceremony which was considered to be the second birth, a privilege denied to the Śūdras. The appellation *dvija* or *dvijāti* is, however, more frequently applied to the Brāhmaṇas in order to distinguish them from the other three castes.⁴ The *varṇas* are usually mentioned in their descending order indicating the degree of the status they enjoyed in society.⁵

The caste system tended to be more and more rigid during our period. Varāhamihira carries the distinction of caste to the farthest limit. He associates white, red, yellow and black colours with the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively. A few examples will not be quite out of place here. White, red, yellow and black rays of the sun in the rainy season are said to destroy the four *varṇas* in order (III.25). Rāhu (eclipsed disc of the sun or moon) appearing white, red, yellow and dark (also *kāpota* or pigeon-like) was believed to afflict the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively (V.53, 56, 57, 59).⁶ The principle of colour was also adhered to in selecting sites for residential buildings or for temples (LII.94; LV.9). The colour of certain articles of daily use also differed from *varṇa* to *varṇa*. For instance, the handles of clubs, umbrellas, goads, canes, bows, canopies, spears, banners and chowries of the members of the four *varṇas* in the descending order were to be yellow, yellowish red, hued like honey and dark respectively (LXXI.4). The Brāhmaṇas had a special kind of umbrella prescribed for them (LXXII.6). The Kṣatriyas were to use red or yellow diamond; the Brāhmaṇas, white; the Vaiśyas, hued like *śirīṣa* flower; and the Śūdras, black (LXXIX.11).

Similarly, the four *varṇas* in order are assigned to the north, east, south and west respectively⁷ (*pūrv-ādyāḥ Kṣatriyādyās caturdiśam*, LXXXV.34). It is laid down in connection with town-planning, that members of the four *varṇas* should have houses in their respective quarters (LII.67-8).

The sites for the houses of persons belonging to different castes differed from one another in regard to colour, taste, smell and similar other matters (LII.89-95). Dwellings with various measurements are prescribed for different *varṇas* (LII.12-3, 15, 18-9). Similar is the case with regard to the timber used in fashioning images (LVIII.5-6).

Before commencing the construction of a house, the owner had to draw lines touching his head, breast, thighs and feet according as he was a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra (LII.98). This reminds one of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Rgveda* which postulates the origin of the four *varṇas* from the face, arms, thighs, and feet of the *Puruṣa*.

The caste distinction is extended to certain astrological phenomena also. Thus, an eclipse during northern or southern solstice was supposed to afflict the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas and Śūdras (V.32). We are told that persons belonging to the four *varṇas* are afflicted when the sun or the moon is eclipsed in certain parts of the sky (V.28-9). They were also supposed to be presided over by different asterisms and planets (XV.28-30; XVI.34). A halo (*pariveśa*) appearing on the first four days of a month is said to bring ruin to the four *varṇas* in order (XXXIV.19). A meteor falling on its head, breast, side and tail or the one that is straight, glossy, unbroken and falling downward is said to hurt the four *varṇas* severally (XXXIII.14-5).

How far these distinctions were followed in practice is not possible to ascertain for want of reliable data.

The Brāhmaṇas are spoken of as aspiring to master the Vedas (XII.18), reciting Vedic *mantras* at sacrifices and other religious rites,⁸ officiating at sacrifices⁹ and religious ceremonials like *śāntis*, the festival of Indra's banner, formal entrance into a newly constructed house, *Nirājana*, *Puṣya-snāna* and the installation of images.¹⁰ There is a reference to Brāhmaṇas solely living on water, roots and wind, eschewing other food and performing penance (XII.6). At the conclusion of every religious rite they received *dakṣiṇā* or gifts consisting of various objects and were entertained at feasts.¹¹ The gifts bestowed upon the Brāhmaṇas in the prescribed manner were believed to secure the object for which they were

given.¹² At one place gifts to Brāhmaṇas are said to be capable of averting calamities due to celestial portents.¹³ They were considered to be capable of strengthening the nation by observing *śāntis* in the same way as a physician does in the case of one suffering from a disease or poison.¹⁴ Non-observance of duties on their part was viewed seriously (IX.39). Their austere life and the services they rendered to the people in various ways elicited respect from all sections of society. The Brāhmaṇas are often mentioned along with gods, and a man dominated by the *sattva* quality is said to be devoted to them (LXVIII.8). The Rucaka and Maṇḍalaka types of men are also described as strongly attached to the Brāhmaṇas, teachers, gods, sacrifices and meditation (LXVIII.29,38). Their blessings on the eve of a journey were highly valued¹⁵ and their sight at the commencement of a military expedition regarded as auspicious (YY, XIII.11; XIV.23). A king whose army hated the Brāhmaṇas was regarded as easily assailable (*ibid.*, III.4). Their grace and the *mantras* recited by them at the commencement of a march were believed to enhance the vigour of the monarch¹⁶ and to lead him to victory.¹⁷ Wars were fought for the cause of the Brāhmaṇas, cows and the king.¹⁸ A victorious monarch is exhorted not to confiscate the belongings of the Brāhmaṇas.¹⁹

They were distinguished from each other by the Veda to which they belonged. Thus the Brāhmaṇas of the *Atharvaveda* (*Ātharvaṇa*, BY, XVIII.13), *Sāmaveda* (*Chandoga*, *ib.*, XVIII.10) and the *R̥gveda* (*Bahv̥rc*, *ib.*, XVIII.15) are mentioned. There is a reference to the Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas (*cāturvedya*, *ib.*, XVIII.7). *Cāturvidya* Brāhmaṇas are also mentioned in some land grants of the Gupta period.²⁰ The word *śrotriya*, which denotes, according to the *Vaikhānasa Gṛhya Sūtra* (I.1), a Brāhmaṇa well-versed in a single Veda,²¹ occurs in XLVII.5. *Gotra* was another distinguishing point: Brāhmaṇas of Vasiṣṭha *gotra* are mentioned in V.72. The derogatory word *Brahmabandhu*²² is found in BY, XVIII.24. A Brāhmaṇa who failed to perform the *Upanayana* sacrament in time was degraded from his caste and styled *Vrātya dvija* (LXXXVI.39).²³ According to Manu (II.39-40), such a person was excluded from *Sāvitrī* and despised by the *Āryas*, and unless he observed expiatory rites he could have no connection with the Brāhmaṇas either through the Veda or by marriage.²⁴

Brāhmaṇicide was regarded as one of the most heinous crimes and a large number of penances are prescribed for its atonement. Our author refers to one such atonement as *Kāpālavrata*. 'When the cart of Rohiṇī,' says he, 'is broken

through by Venus, the earth is strewn with hair and pieces of bones, as if it were observing the *Kāpāla-vrata* after committing a sinful act' (i.e., killing a Brāhmaṇa).²⁵ This follows the *Mānavadharmasāstra* which lays down that the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa, for purifying his own self, should live for twelve years in a cottage in the forest, subsisting on alms obtained by begging and making the head of the corpse as his ensign.²⁶

In VIII.30, Kṣatra is represented as the ruling class.²⁷ In V.32, the word *narendra* stands for the Kṣatriyas. It shows that at least in theory regal power was confined to the second caste. In practice, however, there were undoubted departures from this theory. Yuan Chwang, for instance, refers to the Vaiśya kings of Thaneshwar and Paryatra,²⁸ Śūdra kings of Matipura and Sindh,²⁹ and Brāhmaṇa rulers of Ujjayinī, Jijhoti and Maheśvarapura.³⁰

The first two *varṇas* are often paired to form the compounds like *Brahma-Kṣatra* (IV.31; IX.16; XVII.21), *Dviḥja Kṣatra* (V.71), *Dviḥja-Kṣatriya* (XVIII.4) and *Dviḥja-nṛpati* (V.32), indicating, firstly, that their unity was considered essential for the proper maintenance of social order,^{30a} and secondly, as compared to the next two *varṇas*, which are also sometimes coupled (*Viṭ-Śūdra* V.32; VIII.52), they occupied a higher place in social hierarchy. Any dissension between them was viewed seriously (XVII.21). Sometimes in contrast to the two upper castes, others are styled commoners (*prajā*, IV.31).

The Vaiśyas and Śūdras are represented as propitiating Agastya with the desire of obtaining cattle and wealth respectively (XII.18).

The caste determined one's social status (*Sārthe pradhānam sāmye syāj=jāti vidyā-vayo=dhikam*, LXXXV.11; BY, XXIII.7). References to the heads of castes³¹ indicate the existence of caste organisations.

MIXED CASTES

Varāhamihira, who brands the mixed castes (*saṅkara*)³² as *vivarna* (XXXVI.2) and *avarna* (LXXXVIII.1), seems to adhere to the dictum of the Smṛtis that there are only four *varṇas* and no fifth exists (cf. *Manu*, X.4). The *dharmaśāstra*-writers derive the mixed castes from inter-caste marriages in the *anuloma*³³ and *pratiloma*³⁴ orders. Unlike the four traditional castes, mixed castes are assigned to intermediate directions (XXXVI.2; BY, XXXII.4). We get references to the following sub-castes:-

1. *Cāṇḍala* (XV.30; YY, IX.7), one of the six primary *pratiloma* castes deriving its origin from the union of a Śūdra male and a Brāhmaṇa female.³⁵ Manu (X.16, 51-6) regards the Cāṇḍala as the lowest of men and speaks of him as living outside the village, having dogs and donkeys for his wealth, dressing himself with the clothes of the dead, taking food from broken dishes, having iron ornaments and wandering from place to place. They were not allowed to enter a town or a village during the night and even during the day they could go about for their work bearing special marks.³⁶ They had to dispose of the corpses of persons having no relatives, be hangmen at royal orders³⁷ and take for themselves the clothes, beds and ornaments of the executed.

2. *Ḍombas* (LXXXVI.33), the same as the present-day Ḍoms who are placed in charge of cremation grounds.

3. *Niṣāda* (V.76), begotten by a Brāhmaṇa male on a Śūdra³⁸ or Vaiśya³⁹ woman. The *Amara* (II.10.19-20), however, treats *Niṣāda* as synonymous with Cāṇḍala. Utpala takes Naikṛtikas (V.28; X.3)⁴⁰ to be the same as Niṣādas. Manu (X.48) assigns them fishing for their occupation.⁴¹

4. *Pāraśava* (LII.15), born of the union of a Brāhmaṇa man and a Śūdra woman.⁴² Vidura was a Pāraśava and married the Pāraśavi daughter of king Devaka (*Mahābhārata*, Ādi, 108.25; 113.12). Bāṇa had two Pāraśava brothers, Candrasena and Mātrṣeṇa. We learn from a Tipperah CP. inscr. (AD 650) that Lokanātha's maternal grandfather Keśava, officer-in-charge of royal army, was a Pāraśava.⁴³

5. *Śvapaca* (L.5), variously called the offspring of an Ugra man and a Kṣattrī woman,⁴⁴ a Kṣattrī man and an Ugra woman,⁴⁵ a Cāṇḍala male and a Brāhmaṇa female, and of a Cāṇḍala male and a Vaiśya female.⁴⁶ Varāhamihira classes Śvapacas among the *antya-jātyas*⁴⁷ and relegates them to the corners of a city, village or building (LII.82), indicating that they had their own settlements, probably away from villages. Manu classes them with the Cāṇḍalas and assigns identical occupations.⁴⁸

6. *Ugra* (XV.29; XXXI.3; YY, IX.6), born of a Kṣatriya male and a Śūdra female.⁴⁹ Manu (X.49) requires an Ugra to pursue the occupation of killing the animals living in holes.

To add to its complexity, a number of foreign hordes, e.g., Yavanas (Greeks), Pahlavas (Parthians), Śakas, Hūṇas, Magas,⁵⁰ were absorbed in Hindu society. They were branded as Mlecchas. The Yavanas are clearly so called (II.14). They are associated with the mixed castes (XVI.11), showing that in the eyes of Brāhmaṇical writers they did not enjoy an honourable position in social hierarchy.

ĀŚRAMAS

By a strange coincidence the number of the *Āśramas* or stages into which the life of a *dvija* was divided is also four: those of a Brāhmacārin or student, Gr̥hastha or householder, Vānaprastha or forest recluse, and Sannyāsin or wandering ascetic. Varāhamihira refers to Vānaprasthas as *vanyāśana*, 'subsisting on forest products' (*BJ*, XV.1) and *tāpasa* (XIII.9; LVIII.2), and to Sannyāsins as *bhikṣu* (*BJ*, XV.1), *pravrajita* (L.5; LXXXVI.7), *parivrāt* (LXXXVI.36), *suparivrāt* (L.20) and *Yati* (L.5). At one place we have a reference to hermits free from family ties, leading their life in the wilderness (II.7). According to Utpala, the word *āśramin* means a Sannyāsin (V.28; XV.24; LII.16). We have references to ascetics with shaven heads (*muṇḍa*) and wearing reddish clothes (*kāṣāyin*, *YY*, XIII.14; *TY*, IX.15). Mention is also made of female ascetics (*bhikṣuṇikā*, *pravrajitā* LXXVII.9).⁵¹ But as we shall see in the next section, owing probably to their dubious character, they did not command any respect in society as is evident from the advice to protect women of good families against them. Varāhamihira speaks of persons revering ascetics, seeking admission to the ascetic order without success (*abhiyācita-mātra-dikṣitāḥ*, *BJ*, XV.2) and giving up ascetic life (*BJ*, XV.1).

In XLVII.13, we find a conventional description of hermitages (*āśramas*) where "the lion is won over by a female deer, as anger by forgiveness and where the young ones of birds and the deer are granted freedom from fear." The *āśramas* were considered to be sacred and trees growing there were not allowed to be cut down (LVIII.2).

II

MARRIAGE AND POSITION OF WOMEN

Being the source of all family relations, marriage is the most important institution of social life. It is instrumental in propagating human race, perpetuating family line, and regulating sex-relations. Due to these and other reasons marriage

was very highly thought of in many ancient nations, India being no exception (cf. *Manu*, III.7).

According to Hindu notions, a *dvija* is born with debt to sages, gods and manes, the last of which could be repaid by begetting children,⁵² an aim properly attainable by marriage. The wife was considered to be man's half without whom he was not admitted to the privilege of performing sacrifices.⁵³ To these *Manu* (IX.28) adds sexual and other pleasures as an end for which a marriage was contracted. Thus the main objects of marriage were offspring, performance of religious rites and worldly pleasures.⁵⁴ Varāhamihira emphatically stresses man's dependence on wife for *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and sons.⁵⁵

As to the qualifications of a bridegroom, our author states that he should be pure on his parents' side, handsome, young and of known character (*VP*,8). Stressing the qualifications of the husband, he says that even though possessing all virtues, a girl, if married to a man devoid of necessary qualities, causes disrepute and loss of happiness and wealth to one (the girl's guardian) unable to find out a suitable match.⁵⁶ We have, however, a reference to the marriage procession of an old man puffed up with his wealth.⁵⁷

Besides possessing auspicious physical features and being free from inauspicious ones⁵⁸, the bride should be a virgin (*kumārī*,⁵⁹ *kumārikā*,⁶⁰ *kanyā*,⁶¹ *kanyakā*⁶²) and young (*yauvanasthā*, *VP*,8). Varāhamihira speaks of youth, beauty, attractive dress, courtesy and knowledge of the arts of captivating a man's heart as the excellences of women (*LXXVII*.13). From this, we may conclude that usually women were physically and mentally mature at the time of marriage. The physical characteristics of the virgin enumerated in the *Kanyā-lakṣaṇādhyāya* of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (Ch.LXIX) confirm our view. Sanskrit classics, it is interesting to note, have for their heroines grown up girls capable of indulging into the intricacies of love.⁶³ The censure of *dharmaśāstra*-writers against post-puberty marriages,⁶⁴ therefore, seems to represent their own views rather than the actual state of things.⁶⁵

People normally married within their own caste,⁶⁶ but terms like *Pāraśava*, *Ugra*, *Cāṇḍala*, *Niṣāda* and *Śvapaca*, which denote the offspring of inter-caste unions,⁶⁷ testify to the prevalence of inter-caste marriages during our period. There is evidence, literary and epigraphic, to show that such marriages actually took place. The *Vākātaka* Rudrasena II, a Brāhmaṇa of Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra*, for example,

married Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Candragupta II. The Kadamba ruler Kākutsthavarman, fourth in descent from Mayūraśarman, the Brāhmaṇa founder of the dynasty, married his daughters to Guptas and others.⁶⁸

Marital Rites

Varāhamihira refers to *varaṇa* or wooing, (BJ, XXIV.16), *vivāha-yātrā* or marriage procession (YY, V.11), *madhuparka* (VP, 96) and subsequent rites performed in the presence of fire (*ib.*). The rite of grasping the bride's hand by the bridegroom is implied in the word *pāṇigraha* used to denote marriage (XCIX.7; VP, 14). According to the Vivāhapaṭala (96), the bridegroom observed some auspicious practices (*kautuka-maṅgala*) prior to the marriage proper.⁶⁹ In the *Harṣacarita* (IV), we find Grahavarman observing local customs in the *kautuka-grha* before marriage.⁷⁰ This practice is still current in Panjab but changes in the Meerut region where marriage is followed by the observance of local customs.⁷¹ Similarly, the bride was required to worship Indrāṇī. A clay image of Indrāṇī was taken in procession by ladies to the bank of a river or tank where it was bathed and worshipped by the bride who brought it back to her house and worshipped thrice—in the morning, afternoon and evening, daily till marriage (VP, 9-14). In connection with Indumatī's *svayamvara*,—Kālidāsa speaks of the absence of disturbances owing to the presence of Śacī there (*Raghuvamśa*, VII.3). This custom is noticed by Bāṇa also (*Harṣacarita*, IV). Sudarśanācārya, the commentator of the *Āpastamba-grhyasūtra*, mentions Indrāṇī-worship as a rite to be performed without *mantras*.⁷² This custom is still followed in Maharashtra. Varāhamihira further recommends the observance of local practices.⁷³

Polygamy

Though people were normally monogamous, multiplicity of wives, especially among the rich, was not unknown. Varāhamihira refers to co-wives (*sapatnī*, VP, 34; *sasāpatnika*, VP, 19) and to men with two (*dvibhārya*, YY, IV.55; BY, XVIII.16) or more wives (*bhūribhārya*, BJ, XVIII.18).⁷⁴ That even poor men sometimes practised polygamy would appear from the statement that the happiness of a poor man with two wives comes to an end (YY, IV.55).

Wedded Life

Complete concord between husband and wife and perfect fusion of their personalities into one are essential for a prosperous and happy wedded life. A

serious view was, therefore, taken of antagonism between them (V.97). A wife acting contrary to the interests of her husband is spoken of scornfully.⁷⁵ On the other hand, a wife agreeable to her husband's mind is said to augment the prosperity of the family (YY, V.31). She was expected to maintain a very high moral standard.⁷⁶

As we have seen above, sensual pleasures and children were main objects of wedlock. Just as a twig cut off from a tree or a seed sown in the soil does not develop into a different plant, so also, it was believed, a son is nothing but the soul reborn in a woman with such minor differences as may be due to the influence of the mother who is compared to a field.⁷⁷ Manu, it would be remembered, compares a man and a woman to the seed and soil respectively (IX.33 ff.). As the foetus a woman develops is similar to the man she remembers at the moment of coitus and as sexual pleasure in its entirety is not possible without winning over her mind and securing her undivided love (LXXIV.1, 4), Varāhamihira elaborates an ethical code by which this goal may be realised (LXXIV.5-10). He deprecates the employment of the *mantras* (mystic formulas) for captivating heart, medicines, spells (*kuhakas*) and similar other remedies which seem to have been current in his time (LXXIV.5).⁷⁸

Varāhamihira advises a man desirous of maintaining his family-reputation to guard women against female ascetics, Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical, female slaves, nurses, unmarried girls, washer-women, garland-makers, corrupt women, female companions, she-barbers and go-betweens, for they ruin families.⁷⁹ The significance of this advice can be properly grasped in the light of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* which regards these women as best suited for employment as go-betweens in intrigues with others' wives (I.5.37-39; III.3.9, 38; V.4.42-62).⁸⁰ Women were also to be guarded against nocturnal movement, vigil, pretension of illness, living in others' house, diviners, congregational mournings and festivals, for these are the occasions when women come into contact with men.⁸¹

An ideal wife went to the bed after her husband and got up earlier (LXXVII.15). She was expected to be well-behaved to her parents-in-law and others (VP, 30,31, 44). The words *vyayanā*, expending much (VP,36), and *āyaprayā*, securing income (VP, 38), probably indicate that she was charged with the duty of regulating household expenditure. Manu (IX.11) asks the husband to employ his wife in receiving and spending wealth. Vātsyāyana requires an ideal wife to

calculate annual income and regulate expenditure in proportion to the same (IV.1.32-3).

Suttee

Varāhamihira alludes to the practice of the self-immolation of the wife on the funeral pyre of her husband, popularly called *suttee*, in the following words: 'Man does not keep his flattering words uttered in privacy to women afterwards while women enter fire embracing their dead husbands'.⁸² It is noticed by Vātsyāyana⁸³ and Kālidāsa,⁸⁴ but vehemently condemned by Bāṇa.⁸⁵ The Eran posthumous inscr. of Goparāja (AD 510-11) informs us that when he died in a battle his wife accompanied him on the funeral pyre.⁸⁶ The widowed wife of Dharmadeva, king of Nepal, was keen upon following her dead husband, but was refrained from doing so by her son Mānadeva.⁸⁷

Desertion

We read of women deserted by their husbands (*BJ*, XXIV.8,9). Our author tells us that in order to absolve himself of the sin of transgressing his faultless wife, a man should wear for six months the hide of an ass with hair exposed and beg for subsistence saying, 'give alms to the transgressor of his wife'.⁸⁸ It follows the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* which adds that the transgressor should beg at seven houses.⁸⁹ Varāhamihira says that according to the *śāstra* men and women are equally sinful in transgressing each other, but men pay no heed to it (LXXIII.12).

Widow-remarriage

There are numerous references to widows.⁹⁰ At one place we hear of a lady widowed in her childhood (*bālye vidhavā*, *BJ*, XXIV.8). Widow-remarriage, though severely condemned by Brāhmaṇical writers,⁹¹ seems to have sometimes taken place. Our author refers to remarried women (*punarbhū*,⁹² XXXI.3; *BJ*, XXIV.4, 9)) and to their sons (*BJ*, XIV.2).

General Remarks

The daughter was not so much coveted as the son. A woman giving birth to daughters alone was looked down upon.⁹³ Some literary training appears to have been provided to girls in cultured families. Some of them went for higher

education as well. Varāhamihira alludes to a *brāhmavādinī* women well-known for her proficiency in all the sciences (*BJ*, XXIV.15). According to religious literature, *brahmavādinīs* were life-long students like *naiṣṭhika* Brahmacārins.⁹⁴ Uncharitable and unmerited remarks against womanhood were not wanting. Varāhamihira raises his solitary voice against such allegations. He openly says that women are the veritable goddesses of fortune and should always be honoured and given wealth, that all the faults which women are accused of are also committed by men but the latter in their audacity treat women with scorn though they are superior to men in virtues, that whether she be wife or mother, the origin of men depends on women, and that the lustful craving of man does not subside even when he is centenarian and he keeps away from it only due to incapacity, while women do so by courage and patience (*LXXIII*.4, 6, 11, 14).

III

FOOD AND DRINKS

Bhakṣya and Anna

The employment side by side of the words *bhakṣya* and *anna* (*XI.VII.28*) tends to show that these terms stood for different kinds of food. Utpala mentions *modaka*, *lopikā* and *apūpa* as examples of *bhakṣya*, and *odana* and *pāyasa* as those of *anna*. It appears from this that they denote solid edibles and food in general respectively.⁹⁵

Food Grains

Rice with its numerous varieties like *sālī*, *ṣaṣṭika*, *yavaka*, *kalamaśālī*, *sūkaraka*, *pāṇḍūka*, *raktaśālī*, *gaurasālī* and *niṣpāva*, barley and wheat formed the staple food of the people. Pulses formed, as now, one of the principal ingredients of diet, mention being made of beans, kidney beans, grams, *Ervum Hersutum*, *Dolichos uniflorus* and peas. Sesamum, mustard and linseed yielded various kinds of oil⁹⁶ which must have been used for seasoning and frying. Sesamum, as we shall presently see, was also used as an important ingredient in certain preparations.⁹⁷

Spices

Spices must have been used in preparing food. Mention is made of ordinary salt (*lavaṇa*),⁹⁸ rock-salt (*saindhava*),⁹⁹ long pepper (*pippalī*), black pepper (*marica*),

ginger (*śunṭhi*), small cardamoms (*sūkṣmailā*), cumin seeds (*jīraka*) and nutmeg (*jāti-phala*).¹⁰⁰ There is a reference to small cardamoms, avertroas (*lavaṭī*) and cloves (*lavaṅga*) growing in the south-west on seashore (XXVII.5).¹⁰¹ The fact that excessively sour, bitter, salty and pungent food is harmful to eyesight, sperm and manhood is recorded in LXXV.12.

Milk Products

Milk¹⁰² and its products played a dominant part in ordinary diet. Milk was highly valued for its vigour-imparting properties (LXXV.4, 6, 7, 8). In addition to cow-milk,¹⁰³ goat's milk was also consumed (LXXV.9). Sometimes sugar was added to give it sweet flavour (LXXV.5). Among milk products, we have references to (1) *dadhi* or curd,¹⁰⁴ that prepared from cow's milk being especially mentioned (YY, VII.16); (2) *takra* (LIII.114; LXXV.11), butter-milk mixed with one-fourth¹⁰⁵ or half water,¹⁰⁶ (3) *mathita* (XLIX.26), butter-milk without water;¹⁰⁷ (4) *navanīta* (LXXX.4), fresh butter extracted from curds after churning;¹⁰⁸ (5) *ghṛta*,¹⁰⁹ *ājya*,¹¹⁰ *haviṣ*¹¹¹ or *sarpis*,¹¹² clarified butter churned from curds, used as frying material (LXXV.9) and not infrequently employed for seasoning rice (LXXV.8) and other items of food (XCIV.24; CIV.8); and (6) *payāḥsarpis* (LXXV.4), butter derived from fresh milk¹¹³; it was used for frying and is the same as Pāṇi's *phāṇṭa*¹¹⁴ and the *kṣīrottha navanīta* of *Saśruta* (Sūtrasthāna, XLV.93).

Sweets

Varāhamihira refers to the following sweets:-

1. *Madhu*¹¹⁵, honey. Its tawny hue (LXVII.64; LXXI.4; XXVIII.11) and odour (LXVII.15) are alluded to. We come across the words *kṣaudra* (XLII.60; LIII.108; LIV.7; LXXV.6) and *mākṣika* (XV.9), which, according to *Suśruta* (Sūtrasthāna, XLV.13), denote two of the eight varieties of honey. Honey produced by smaller bees was known as *kṣaudra* while that derived from large bees was called *mākṣika*.¹¹⁶

2. *Guda*^{116a}, molasses, an important article of food extensively used in preparing various dishes (XCIV.20; CIV.8).

3. *Phāṇṭa* (XLI.5), the inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled down to thick consistency (*rāb* in Hindi). It was regarded as an inferior variety of molasses.¹¹⁷

4. *Śarkarā* (LXXV.5), granulated sugar, its white colour being suggested by its other name *sitā* (LXXV.6; LXXVI.11).

Trimadhura (XLVII.31), as suggested by the word, denotes the three sweets, clarified butter, honey and sugar.¹¹⁸

Food Preparations

A list of food preparations noticed by our author is appended below.

1. *Odana* (XLVII.30; LVIII.8; YY, VI.12, 18), boiled rice prepared from the above-mentioned varieties of rice, special mention being made of that prepared from *śālī* (L.30) and *ṣaṣṭika* (L30; LXXV.8; XCIV.20; YY, VII.17; BY, XVIII.9-10). Sometimes it was prepared in combination with meat (*māṃsaudana*, XLVII.30; BY, XVIII.23-4). *Tilaudana* (YY, V.14; VI.8; VII.17, 21) was a dish of milk, rice and sesamum.¹¹⁹ *Odana* was also taken in combination with other ingredients like fish (YY, V.14), curds (*dadhi-bhakta*, XCIV.51; *dadhy - odana*, VP, 13),¹²⁰ milk (*kṣīraudana*, YY, VI.5), and molasses (BY, XVIII.9-10), and *ghee* was used for seasoning it (LXXV.8). As at present, *odana* was commonly eaten with soups of various pulses, e.g. black gram (LXXV.8).

2. *Modaka* (LVIII.8; LXXXVIII.1). Utpala renders it by the word *laḍḍuka* from which its modern name *laḍḍū* is derived. In northern India, *laḍḍū* and *modaka* are even now used as synonyms, denoting a ball-shaped preparation made from the flour of rice, wheat, barley or grams fried in clarified butter, mixed with molasses or sugar, and finally done into round balls. According to Dalhaṇa (on *Suśruta*, Sūtrasthana, XLIV.12-3), wheat-flour mixed with *ghee* was steamed in a pot, then thrown into a decoction of sugar, and finally shaped like *modakas*. In Maharashtra, however, *laḍḍu* and *modaka* preparations are distinguished from each other. The latter is a stuffed preparation shaped like a fig. Small *chapātis* of rice flour are stuffed with a mixture of molasses or sugar and coconut dessications and then fried in *ghee*. On some occasions like Nāga-Pañcami or Poḷā, the preparation is invariably steamed and eaten.

3. *Palala* (LVIII.8; XCIV.22; YY, VI.19). It is a sweetmeat prepared from pounded sesamum and *gur* or sugar, now called *tilkuṭ*. Utpala takes it to mean semi-pounded sesamum.¹²¹ At present, it is especially eaten on the Makara Saṅkrānti day.

4. *Pāyasa*,¹²² *Paramānna*.¹²³ Its modern equivalent is *khīra*, which is prepared by boiling rice in milk with sugar. Sometimes *ghee* was added to it (XLV.32; XLVII.36). This practice is even now current in western U.P. It was one of the most favourite dishes as would appear from frequent references made to it. Utpala given *kṣīrīṇī* as another name for *pāyasa* (on XLV.32).

5. *Pūpa* (XLII.38). It is a sweet cake or bread made of wheat-flour, sugar or *gur*, and fried in clarified butter, popularly known as *puā*. In Utpala's time, it was prepared from green gram or rice.¹²⁴

6. *Yavāgū* (L.31), gruel of any kind, especially of barley. Its modern equivalents are *lapsī* and *rābrī*. *Yavāgū* of sesamum and beans is referred to in *Caraka* (Cikitsāsthāna, XXXVI.155).

7. *Yāvaka* (XLIII.11; YY, VI.19; BY, IV.23-7). Utpala¹²⁵ takes it to be identical with *yavāgū*. Kern understands it as a kind of barley cake. It does not seem to be correct in view of Patañjali's statement that *yāvaka* was prepared by pounding barley with pestle and mortar for removing the chaff, and then boiling it in milk or water with sugar.¹²⁶ According to Kauṭilya (II.15), *yāvaka* weighs two times the quantity of barley. *Caraka* regards it as a *svinnabhakṣya*, i.e. steamed food (Sūtrasthāna, XXVII.261).

8. *Śaktu* (XLV.63), groats made by grinding fried barley grains. It corresponds to *sattū* which is taken after doughing with water and seasoning with sugar, molasses, or salt. *Caraka* (Sūtrasthāna, XXVII.264) refers to *saktu* made of *śālī* and regards it as sweet, light, cooling and curative in certain diseases. *Saktu* doughed with water was called *apsaktu*.¹²⁷ We have also references to the combination of beans with *saktu*.¹²⁸

9. *Śaṣkulikā* (LXXV.9). Cakrapāṇidatta, the commentator of *Caraka*, tells us that *śaṣkulis* were made of the flour of *śālī* mixed with sesamum seeds, and fried in oil.¹²⁹ It is prepared exactly like this today in Karnataka. Ḍalhaṇa gives *śākulī* as its popular name.¹³⁰ A medicinal *śaṣkulikā* described by our author will be mentioned in the next section.

10. *Ulloṇikā* (LVIII.8).¹³¹ It is described as a *bhakṣya* or solid eatable. It may be the same as *loṇikā* mentioned by Utpala (on XLVII.28).

11. *Sūpa* (LXXV.8), soup of various pulses, that of beans being referred to.

It was eaten with *odana* and other items of staple diet in order to improve their taste.

Fruits and Vegetables

Our work abounds in references to fruit-bearing trees and creepers like *āmalaka*, *lodhra*, *śṛṅgāṭaka*, *bilva*, *āmṛātaka*, mango (*āmra*, *sahakāra*), *kadalī*, *kapittha*, *bijapūra*, *dādima*, *drākṣā*, *jambū*, *kṣīrikā*, *nālikera*, *pīlu*, *panasa*, *kharjūra* and *tintidī*, fruits whereof must have been extensively eaten.¹³² From their inclusion in the list of tradeable commodities (XLI.9), bulbs and roots (*kanda*,¹³³ *mūla*¹³⁴) appear to have been in great demand. As to vegetables, our author says that consuming leafy vegetables or saline pot-herbs in excess (*kṣāra-śāka-bahulāni*, LXXV.12) causes loss of eye-sight and manhood.¹³⁵

Meat-diet

Meat-eating was quite common in those days.¹³⁶ A large number of slaughterers (*saunika*), fishermen (*matsyabandha*, *kaivarta*, *dhīvara*), fowlers (*śākunika*, *śākunī*) and hunters (*vyādha*), to be referred to in the next chapter, supplied various kinds of meat. Among the animals whose flesh was consumed, mention is made of elephants, buffaloes, sheep, boars, cows or bulls, hares, deer, lizards and fish (L.34-5).¹³⁷ Birds' flesh was also eaten (L.33). Varāhamihira especially recommends to a monarch the ceremonial eating of the fish, the flesh of buffalo, bull, he-cat, goat, deer, five animals beginning with *āśvin*, and of birds like *śaṅkara* and others (YY, V.14; VII.16-8, 19, 21). An allusion is made to the aquatic animals whose flesh was allowed to be taken (BY, VIII.1). However, persons initiated into a sacrifice were to refrain from taking meat (YY, IX. 15, 16).

Wine¹³⁸

Like meat-eating, wine-drinking was also prevalent. Numerous references to vendors of wine¹³⁹ indicate the popularity of spirituous liquors. Wine is comprised in the list of articles inspiring lust (LXXV.2). Not only men, women also did not show any compunction in taking intoxicating drinks. There is a reference to men taking wine in company of their lady-loves in the spring season (XIX.18). Inebriety was considered to impart an unusual charm to ladies, and Varāhamihira speaks of a man playing a bee on the lotus-like countenance of his intoxicated sweetheart.¹⁴⁰

Wine was sometimes flavoured with lotus buds (*soṭpalam madhu*, LXXV.2).¹⁴¹

Varāhamihira describes vicious effects of drunkenness thus: 'To wine are due a number of vices; it tends to weaken men of scanty means, intelligence, strength and welfare; losing all common sense and depending on the urge of sense organs, a drunkard is unable to discriminate between what should be eaten and what not and the like; he takes mother for wife and *vice versa*, a house for a clod of clay, and a well for a house; he regards a little of water as an ocean and the latter as flat earth, and poses as befriending a king; what else there is that a drunkard would not contemplate to do' (YY, II.4-5). But all this was not enough to desist people from taking liquor, and, therefore, our author strikes a piece of practical advice, viz. one may drink in secret while receiving a guest, on festive occasions, or at the instance of a physician, but only so much as does not make one's common sense disappear (*ibid.*, II.7). Drinking wine was forbidden for a man performing a sacrifice or other rituals (*ibid.*, IX.15, 16).

We may conclude this section with a general observation on food made by Varāhamihira (YY, VII.22; BY, IV.29). We are told that the food which is tasteless, defiled by hair and flies, emits bad smell, is burnt, insufficient or apt to weaken should be avoided; on the other hand, one should take the food that is well-cooked, clean, attractive, agreeable to one's mind, and tasteful.

IV

HEALTH, DISEASE AND MEDICINE

Our work reveals a highly developed state of medical science in India. Varāhamihira evinces acquaintance with diseases, doctors, treatment and certain principles of medical science. He refers to physicians (*vaidya*,¹⁴² *āyusyañā*,¹⁴³ *bhiṣaj*¹⁴⁴), horse-physicians (*turaga-bhiṣaj*)¹⁴⁵, surgeons (*salyahṛt*),¹⁴⁶ chemists (*rasāyana-kuśala*)¹⁴⁷, and depoisoners (*viṣa-ghātaka*).¹⁴⁸ The word *śālākya*¹⁴⁹ denoting a kind of surgery appears in XV.12. We have references to the three humours of the body, viz. (i) wind (*vāta*, *vāyu*, *marut*, *anila*, *pavana*), (ii) bile (*pitta*), (iii) phlegm (*śleṣma*, *kapha*), their derangement, diseases proceeding therefrom, and persons suffering from them.¹⁵⁰ The fact that bile is greatly vitiated and becomes powerful by basking in the sun is also recorded.¹⁵¹ Mention is made of the *dhātus* (primary fluids of body), their deterioration and derangement and the diseases

caused by them. The part played by climatic and seasonal disorders in causing disease was recognised. Thus there are allusions to outbreaks of epidemics due to untimely rains, the irregularity of cold and heat, abnormality of seasons (XLV.38, 39), and unnatural features of the sun and the moon (III.26; IV.29). People also believed in the evil influence of planets, stars and other astrological phenomena as a cause of disease.¹⁵² According to *Suśruta*, divine calamities and irregularities of cold, heat, wind and rain divest medicines and water of their respective properties and their use generates epidemic diseases.¹⁵³ In treatment, stress was laid on regulating diet (CIII.55).

Diseases

Diseases are called *roga*,¹⁵⁴ *ruj*,¹⁵⁵ *āmaya*,¹⁵⁶ *vyādhi*,¹⁵⁷ *gada*¹⁵⁸ and *akalyatā*¹⁵⁹ and health is referred to as *kalya*¹⁶⁰ and *ārogya*.¹⁶¹ *Auśadha*¹⁶² and *bheṣaja*¹⁶³ are the words used for medicine. Varāhamihira mentions insanity (*unmāda*), XXXII.11; *BJ*, XXIII.13), rigor mortis (*moha*, *BJ*, XXV.12), death due to worms in a wound (*BJ*, XXV.7), indigestion (*mandāgnitā*, LXXV.10. Cf. LXXVIII.28), bleeding (*raktasrāva*, LXXXVI.35; *kṣatajasya visruti*, LXXXVII.30; *asṛg-udbhava*, CIII.13; *kṣarat-kṣataja*, CIII.16), abortion (*garbha-pāta*, LXXXVIII.5, Cf. V.79, 85; L.35, 38) and the diseases of the womb (*kukṣyāmaya*, V.51), abdomen (*udara-roga*, LXXVIII.29; CIII.10, 16; *jāṭhara-gada*, CIII.6,13), heart (*hṛd-roga*¹⁶⁴, CIII.44; *koṣṭharoga*¹⁶⁵, CIII.5), mouth (*mukha-ruj*, V.82; *mukha-roga*, V.83; VI.4; *vadana-roga*, XXXII.18, *vaktra-roga*, *BJ*, XX.1), teeth (*rada-vaikṛtya*, *BJ*, XXIII.11. Cf. *ibid.*, XXIII.15), eyes (*akṣigada*, IX.40; *akṣiruj*, L.11; CIII.16; *dṛg-ruja*, CIII.6; *dṛg-roga*, *BJ*, XIX.1 Cf. CIII.18; *BJ*, XXIII.10, 12, 13), head (*śīro-ruj*, LII.109), throat (*gale gadāh*, IX.42), private parts (*guhya-ruj*, V.86; *BJ*, XXIII.7; *guhyodbhava roga*, *ibid.*, XXV.9), i.e. piles or fistula, and of ears (*śravaṇa-vyādhi*, IX.33. Cf. *BJ*, XXIII.11, *śravaṇ opaghāta*).

Specific Diseases

A list of diseases specifically named by our author is given below.

1. *Gala-graha* (XXXII.18), throat-spasm. According to *Caraka* (*Sūtrasthāna*, XVIII.22), *gala-graha* arises from the hardening of phlegm in throat.

2. *Śvayathu* (XXXII.10), swelling of the skin, edema. It may be of three or two varieties according as it is caused by the three humours of the body or by

endogenous and exogenous factors (*Caraka*, *Sūtrasthāna*, XVIII.3).

3. *Prameha* (LXVII.7), diabetes, morbid secretion of urine. The possibility of a man with very tender sex organ falling a victim of diabetes leading to his death is indicated.

4. *Chardi* (XXXII.18), vomiting. It is of five kinds according as it results from contact with repulsive objects, excess of wind, bile or phlegm, and tri-discordance (*Caraka*, *Sūtrasthāna*, XIX).

5. *Kāsa* (IX.44; XXXII.10), cough. Cough accompanied by the shaking of jaws is alluded to (*hanūkampayutaś-ca kāsah*, VIII.48).

6. *Śvāsa* (VIII.48; IX.44; XXXII.10; *BJ*, XXIII.8), dyspnoea.

7. *Kṣaya* (VIII.49; *BJ*, XXIII.8.17), consumption.

8. *Śoṣa* (*BJ*.XXIII.8), pthisis. Death resulting from *śoṣa* is referred to in *BJ*, XXV.3.

9. *Pāṇḍu-roga* (XXXII.14), anemia or jaundice.

10. *Kāmala* (IX.43). It is a kind of jaundice marked by 'intensive yellow colour of the skin, eyes, nails, urine and faces and particularly of the face, with exhaustion, weakness, thirst, heat, indigestion, dispise of food and dullness of senses.'¹⁶⁶

11. *Kuṣṭha* (*BJ*, XXIII.9), leprosy.

12. *Śvitra* (*BJ*, XXIII.7), white leprosy.

13. *Vicarcikā* (XXXII.14), itching, dark, severely wet spots or boils.¹⁶⁷ Utpala takes it to be a skin-disease of the foot (*vicarcikā roga-viśeṣaḥ pādajas=tvag=vikārah*).

14. *Dadrū* (XXXII.14). Itching, red, elevated spots.³

15. *Visarpikā* (XXXIV.14). St. Anthony's fire, erysipelas, carbuncles and other abscesses.¹⁶⁹ Utpala explains it as a deformation of limbs (*aṅga-vikāra*).

16. *Vidradhi* (*BJ*, XXIII.8), abscesses and inflammations. It is of two kinds, internal and external, the latter appearing in the skin, muscle and flesh (*Caraka*, *Sūtrasthāna*, XVII.90). It is so called because of its briskly superating characteristics (*ibid.*, verse 95). The internal *vidradhi* occurs in the heart, the pharynx,

liver, spleen, stomach, kidneys, umbilical region, groins and bladder (*ibid.*, para 101).

17. *Gulma* (*BJ*, XXIII.8), 'a round growthlike swelling hardness in the intestines between the heart and the navel.'¹⁷⁰

18. *Khalati* (*BJ*, XXXIII.15), baldness.

19. *Apasmāra* (LII.76; *BJ*, XXIII.17), epilepsy.

20. *Visucikā* (LXXXVI.44), 'cholera in its sporadic form.' Utpala understands it as pricking pain in stomach (*udara-sūla*).

21. *Atisāra* (XXXII.18), dysentery.

22. *Jalodara* (*BJ*, XXV.3), dropsy originating from untimely drinking of water.

23. *Jvara* (XXXII.10, 14; XCIV.35; CIII.13), fever. There is reference to a serious kind of fever causing death (*BJ*, XXV.1). The fever caused by provoked bile is mentioned in *BY*, XI.25 (cf. *Caraka*, Nidānasthāna, I.17-21).

24. *Plāhaka* (*BJ*, XXIII.8), splenic disorders.

25. *Nisāndhatā* (*ibid.*, XX.1), night-blindedness, one suffering from which is referred to as *nisāndha*.

We have numerous references to outbreaks of pestilential diseases (*maraka*,¹⁷¹ *māra*,¹⁷² *mān*¹⁷³).

Erotic Remedies (Kāndarpika)

Chapter 75 of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* entitled *Kāndarpikam* dilates upon erotic remedies.¹⁷⁴ It is noteworthy that practically all medical *Saṃhitas* contain special chapters dealing with this topic.¹⁷⁵ The need of such remedies arises chiefly from Indians' impatient anxiety for male progeny and partly from the practice of polygamy (LXXV.1, 5). Varāhamihira specifies the object of this chapter himself. 'If at the time of coitus woman's blood is in excess of male sperm, a female is born, if *vice versa*, the result is a male child; when both the blood and sperm are equal, an hermaphrodite is born. Hence a man should take recipes enhancing his sperm (LXXV.1).¹⁷⁶ We get the following ten prescriptions.

1. Tablets made of a mixture in equal proportions of the mineral compound

known as *mākṣika-dhātu*, mercury (*pārada*), iron-dust, yellow myrobalan (*harītaka*) and bitumen (*śīlājatu*), and then doughed with clarified butter and honey and finally done into globules (*gulikā*), to be taken for twenty-one days (LXXV.3).

2. Milk boiled with *kapikacchu* roots. (Cf. Vātsyāyana, VII.1.38).

3. Taking six morsels of beans cooked in clarified butter churned from milk (*payahsarpis*), followed by a drink of milk (LXXV.4).

4. The powder of *vidārikā* boiled in its own sap and then dried up in the sun seven times, to be taken with boiled milk sweetened with sugar. This prescription is meant for a man with many wives (LXXV.5). Suśruta also recommends the use of the powder of *vidārikā* boiled in its own sap with clarified butter and honey for a polygamist (IV.26.23).

5. Taking the powder of myrobalan, boiled in its own juice, and mixed with honey, sugar and clarified butter, followed by milk according to one's digestion (LXXV.6). It follows *Suśruta*, IV.26.24.

6. Eating sesamum grains boiled seven times in milk with goat's testicles, and then dried up, followed by drinking milk (LXXV.7 and comm. Cf. *Suśruta*, IV.26.18, 20). The *Kāmasūtra* (VII.1.37) also recommends milk boiled with goat's or sheep's testicles and seasoned with sugar for regaining potency and vigour.

7. An evening meal consisting of boiled *ṣaṣṭika* rice taken with clarified butter and black gram soup, and drinking milk thereafter (LXXV.8).

8. Cakes (*śaṣkulikā*) made of a compound of sesamum seeds, roots of *aśvagandhā* and *kapikacchu*, *vidārikā*, and the flour of *ṣaṣṭika* rice, ground in goat's milk, and fried in clarified butter (LXXV.9 and comm.).

9. Drinking milk boiled with *gokṣuraka* (LXXV.10. Cf. *Suśruta*, IV.26.33, 35).

10. Eating *vidārikā* root boiled in milk (LXXV.10. Cf. *Suśruta*, IV.26.28; *Kāmasūtra*, VII.1.38).

Powder for Indigestion

A powder prepared from *ajamoda*, salt, yellow myrobalan, ginger and long pepper (all in equal quantities), taken with wine, butter-milk, *tarala*(?)¹⁷⁷ or hot water, is said to promote digestion (LXXV.11).

Menstruation and Conception

Last eight verses of the *Purāṇa-sampradhyāya* (LXXVII.19-26) of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* embody some of the then ideas regarding menstruation and pregnancy.

A woman is advised to eschew bath, wearing garlands, and anointing the body on the first three days of menses after which on the fourth day she should bathe with water purified and perfumed with various herbs (LXXVII.21-2).¹⁷⁸

The menstrual blood that resembles hare's blood or lac dye, and fades away at washing is pure; the same, when free from noise and pain and ceasing to flow after three days, undoubtedly develops into a foetus if united with a man (LXXVII.19-20).¹⁷⁹

Varāhamihira refers to a sixteen-day-period suitable for conception (*ṛtu*) out of which the first three nights were to be avoided for sexual union (LXXVII.26). According to some medical writers, on the other hand, this period consists of twelve nights from the commencement of menses, the first three nights being unfit for coitus.¹⁸⁰ As the sixteen-day-period is known to the early *Smṛtis* like *Manu* (III.46) and *Yājñavalkya* (I.79) also, Jolly rightly holds it to be original.¹⁸¹

It was believed that a male or female child would be born according as the impregnation takes place on even or odd nights.¹⁸² Moreover, a conception taking place on distant even nights was believed to result in the birth of a long-living, handsome and happy son (LXXVII.23).¹⁸³

The situation of the foetus in a particular place in the womb was taken to be indicative of the sex of the child to be born. Thus the child would be a male, female or eunuch according as the foetus stands in the right, left or middle of the womb. Twins would be born if it is situated on both sides (LXXVII.24).¹⁸⁴ The birth of two, three, four or more children at a time, and a delivery long before or after the usual period were regarded as abnormal and taken to forebode evil (XLV.51, 53). Varāhamihira further says that during the period fit for conception, a man should refrain from marking his wife's body with his nails or teeth (LXXVII.26).

V

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

I. DRESS

Textiles

Next to food, clothing is the most urgent necessity of life. Garments made of various kind of fabrics were in use, the following of which are mentioned:-

- (i) *Kārpāsika* (XLVII.72; XCIV.15), cotton cloth.
- (ii) *Aurṇika* (XVI.29; LXXXVI.12; CIII.12, 61; BY, XVIII.9-10), cloth made from wool. *Āvika* (XL.2, 6; L.19) is the wool derived from sheep's hair. *Kutupa* was a cloth made from goat's wool (XL.2).¹⁸⁵ Among woollen articles, blankets (*kambala*) are frequently referred to (XLI.8; XLVII.50, 54).
- (iii) *Kṣauma* (XXVI.6; XLVII.50; LIII.108; CIII.61)¹⁸⁶, linen cloth made from the yarn of flax (*kṣumā*). In the days of Kauṭilya, Kāśī and Puṇḍra were famous for *kṣauma*.¹⁸⁷ From its inclusion in the long list of articles presented to Harṣavardhana by Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa, *kṣauma* appears to have been manufactured in Assam also.¹⁸⁸
- (iv) *Dukūla* (LXXII.1; BY, XVI.1), cloth made from the fibres of the *dukūla* plant.¹⁸⁹ According to Kauṭilya, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Suvarṇakuḍya were renowned for different classes of *dukūla* : Vaṅga produced white soft *dukūla*; Puṇḍra was known for its blue smooth variety, while Suvarṇakuḍya yielded reddish sort.¹⁹⁰
- (v) *Kauśeya* (XVI.29; CIII.61 v.l.), a kind of silken cloth produced from the cocoon of silk-worms.¹⁹¹ Utpala¹⁹² takes it to be identical with *netra-paṭṭa*¹⁹³ which is probably another variety. Mention is also made of *paṭṭa* (*pāṭ* in Hindi), another kind of silk (XVI.29; LXXXVI.19). It was also used for writing (LXXXV.76). *Aṁśuka* (L.14, 17; LV.6) is usually considered to be muslin, but in reality, it is a sort of silk as will appear from its inclusion among the five varieties of *kitaja* cloth mentioned in the *Anuyuga-dvāra-sūtra* (37).¹⁹⁴
- (vi) *Patrora* (XVI.29), a costly washed silken cloth according to the *Amarakoṣa* (II.6.113). Kauṭilya mentions *patrora* manufactured in Magadha, Puṇḍra and Suvarṇakuḍya and regards the *naga*, *lakuca*, *vakula* and banyan trees as its

sources.¹⁹⁵ According to Kṣīrasvāmin, the commentator of the *Amarakoṣa*, *patroṇa* is made from the yarn of worms' saliva in the leaves of *lakuca*, banyan, etc.¹⁹⁶

Apart from the cloths mentioned above, barks of trees (*valkala*, L.14; *cīra*, LXXXVIII.1) were also worn.

Dress

Men's dress comprised a pair of clothes (*vastra-yuga*, XLVII.72), viz. *uttarīya* or upper garment and *antarīya* or lower garment, the former of which is mentioned (LXX.10). *Uttarīya* was a kind of upper scarf thrown round shoulders. It was incumbent upon a man to wear it especially while observing a religious rite (*BY*, XV.3), as is even now the case. The sleeping gown consisted of one piece only. It is laid down that the king should be clad in a single garment (*ekavastra*) while going to bed in order to ascertain good or bad omens from dreams (*BY*, XVI.7). The lower garment corresponding to *dhotī* was held in position by a *mekhalā* or girdle tied over it round the waist (LV.6)¹⁹⁷ Mention is also made of *uṣṇīṣa* or turban. It was especially worn on ceremonious occasions. Thus we have references to the wearing of *uṣṇīṣa* by priests while performing a *homa* (XLII.30) and by a monarch while proceeding on an expedition (XLIII.27). The king is exhorted to enjoy *uṣṇīṣa* every morning (*YY*, II.25). The sight of *uṣṇīṣa* at the commencement of a journey was considered to be auspicious (*YY*, XIII.10; *TY*, IX.11). Varāhamihira refers to *kañcuka* in connection with the apparel of Sūrya (LVII.48). It formed part of the Northerners' Dress (*udīcya-veṣa*). It is a long corslet covering the whole of the body from the neck to the feet to be seen in the numismatic and sculptural representations of the Kuṣāṇa kings as also in the early figures of Sūrya. Reference is made to footwears also (*pādukā*, LXX.9; *uṣṇāṇa*, LXXXVIII.1, 12; XCIV.14). There are only vague allusions to female apparel (LV.6; LXXVII.3).

Dyed Clothes

People were very fond of dyed clothes. We read of garments of various colours and their wearers (LXXXVI.15, 40; C.8). Mention is made of clothes coloured in yellow (XXIV.18; LVII.32; LXXXVI.25), blue (LXXXV.79) and red (LXXXVI.19). The fact that the white cloth is best suited for dyeing in red, black and other colours is recorded in *YY*, II.1. The bride and the women attending marriage festivities dressed themselves in clothes coloured in *kusumbha* (*Carthamus tinctorius*)

flowers (VP, 10, 12). Ascetics wore saffron-red garments and were consequently styled *kāṣāyin* (YY, XIII.14; TY, IX.15). The fondness for coloured clothes led to the growth of dyeing profession (*rāgayukti*, XVI.17).

It must, however, be noted that some sort of sanctity was attached to white unwashed garments. Thus unwashed (*ahata*) cloth was to be used for wrapping the wood meant for Indra's flag-staff (XLII.24). Horses and elephants at the *Nīrājana* ceremony were also covered with unwashed white cloth (XLIII.15). The priests while officiating at a *homa* were attired in white garments (XLII.30). While launching on a military expedition a monarch was to be draped in white clothes and turban and white umbrella and chowrie were held over him (XLIII.24, 27; BY, XX.1.2). New clothes were to be worn while performing religious rites (LXXXVII.40; BY, XV.3). The glance at a white cloth at the commencement of a journey was regarded as auspicious (YY, XIII.11). The king is enjoined upon to enjoy white clothes in the morning (YY, II.25).

General Remarks

Elegance and simplicity in dressing were highly appreciated (XLII.23, 25; BY, I.4). Varāhamihira recommends the wearing of new clothes on the occasion of marriage, reception of a king, on the recommendation of Brāhmaṇas, and in case the clothes are presented by the king or are marriage-gifts (LXX.8, 14).¹⁹⁸

II. ORNAMENTS

Indians from very ancient times were excessively fond of embellishing their person with various kinds of ornaments (*alāṅkāra*¹⁹⁹, *ābharāṇa*²⁰⁰, *bhūṣaṇa*²⁰¹, *vibhūṣaṇa*²⁰²) worn on different parts of the body. Although both the sexes vied with each other in the use of ornaments, women²⁰³ undoubtedly excelled men.²⁰⁴ We read of soldiers appeasing their sweethearts by presenting them with ornaments seized from the women of the enemy (YY, IV.19). The art of dressing (*veśa*), which included proper use of ornaments, was regarded as an excellence of women (LXXVII.13). Vātsyāyana also includes the art of wearing ornaments (*bhūṣaṇa-yojana*) in the list of sixty-four *āṅgavidyās* (I.3.16) and asks a wife not to go to her husband in privacy without some ornaments on her person (IV.1.13). Putting on ornaments on festive occasions like marriage was considered to be auspicious (VP, 10). This exceedingly great love of ornaments gave rise to the profession of skilled ornament-makers (*bhūṣaṇajña*, XV.12). Ornaments

differed from country to country (LVII.29) and were worn on almost all parts of the body.

Head-ornaments

1. *Śiromaṇi* or head-jewel was usually worn by kings. Varāhamihira speaks of a king shining like the autumnal sun on account of the mass of glittering rays issuing from his head-jewel, and of the earth in front of the suzerain being variegated by the rays radiating from the *śiromaṇis* of the prostrate feudatories (XLIII.23; XLII.36; YY, VIII.18). It is evidently the same as the *cūḍamaṇi* of Kālidāsa and Bāṇa.²⁰⁵ In art we find it represented variously.

2. *Uttamsaka*, a chaplet worn on the crown of the head or a floral ear-ornament.²⁰⁶ Lions in the Vindhya forest are described as wearing the *uttamsakas* of *bāṇa* flowers on their heads (XII.6). Elsewhere, blooming trees on the banks of rivers are compared to the *uttamsakas* worn by a lady (LV.7).

3. *Mukuṭa*, or crown studded with gems of various shades and diamonds was worn by kings (XLIII.25) and displayed in the images of gods (LVII.47).²⁰⁷ The *Mānasāra* describes several varieties of crowns like *jaṭā-makuṭa*, *kirīṭa-makuṭa*, *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* and *śirastraka*, the first consisting of the matted locks of hair tied together in the form of a crown in the centre of the head and the remaining ones actually denoting different types of crown. 'The *Kirīṭa-makuṭa*', says T.A. Gopinatha Rao, 'is a conical cap sometimes ending in an ornamental top carrying a central knob. It is covered with jewelled discs in front or on all sides, and has jewelled bands round the top as well as the bottom'.²⁰⁸ According to him, it is especially appropriate for Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa among the gods and *cakravartin* rulers among human beings.²⁰⁹ But Varāhamihira employs *mukuṭa* and *kirīṭa* in the same sense and extends its use to Sūrya (*mukuṭadhārī*, LVII.47), Kubera (*vāmakirīṭī*, LVII.57) and the Bhūta-gaṇas (BY, XV.12) also. In the extant sculptural representations there is very little difference between the crowns worn by Viṣṇu and Sūrya.

4. *Paṭṭa*. It is an ornamental golden band arranged on the turban. Its use was confined to the king and certain dignitaries of the state and indicated their place in its body politic. The *Paṭṭalakṣaṇādhyāya* (Ch.XLVIII) of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* gives measurements for five kinds of *paṭṭa* meant for the king, queen, crown-prince, army-chief, and for one upon whom the king is pleased to confer this

privilege (*prasāda-paṭṭa*). The first four were adorned with five, three, three and one crests respectively while the *prasāda-paṭṭa* had no such crest attached to it. The five *paṭṭas* were required to be 8 (6"), 7(5¼"), 6(4½"), 4(3") and 2(1½") digits broad in the middle, the length being double the above breadth and the breadth on the sides being half that in the middle. All these *paṭṭas* were to be made of pure gold.²¹⁰ Great care was taken in preparing them. It was believed that the gold sheet for the *paṭṭa* expanding easily in the course of its preparation augured prosperity and victory to the king and happiness to his subjects. On the contrary, a dint or a crack in the middle was taken to bode calamity. The king was required to observe *śāntis* in order to forestall calamities resulting from ill-omens in the course of making a *paṭṭa*.²¹¹ Kālidāsa, it is interesting to note, represents king Sudarśana as wearing *jāmbūnada-paṭṭa* (*Raghuvamśa*, XVIII.44). Bāṇa mentions *mahādevī-paṭṭa* worn by Yaśomati, wife of king Prabhākaravardhana.²¹²

Pearl-necklaces

Apart from its technical sense, the word *hāra* was used to designate necklaces in general.²¹³ The various kinds of pearl-necklaces catalogued by Varāhamihira are not typical of his own time exclusively. Their history goes back to a much earlier date as is clear from the fact that some of them are defined in almost identical manner in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (II.11). A list of necklaces described by our author is given below.

1. *Inducchanda*. It comprises 1008 strands of pearls, and is four cubits (6') long. Its use was confined to the gods. (*Surabhūṣaṇam latānām sahasram=astottaram caturhastam Inducchando nāmnā* - LXXX.31). *Inducchanda* seems to be an error for *Indracchanda* which is met with in the *Arthaśāstra*. This is also suggested by Varāhamihira's statement that it was meant for the gods. In the scene of Buddha's birth in Cave II at Ajanta Indra is shown wearing a necklace consisting of innumerable strands. It may be intended for the *Indracchanda*.

2. *Vijayachanda* is half the above, i.e. consists of 504 strings, two cubits (1½feet) long (*vijayachanda=ud=ardhena* - LXXX.31).²¹⁴

3. *Devachanda*. It is made up of a series of 81 strings, two cubits (1½') in length (*devachanda 81=te a yūṭ=chayutā*, LXXX.32). The *Amarakośa* (II.6.105) regards it as a 100-stranded necklace.

4. *Hāra* is composed of 103 strings, two cubits long (*śatam=astayutam hāra*, LXXX.32).

5. *Ardhahāra* is formed by sixty-four chains, two cubits in length (*aṣṭ-āṣṭako=rdhahāro*, LXXX.32).²¹⁵ The *Amarakoṣa* (II.6.106) mentions it as one of the numerous varieties of necklaces differing from one another on account of the number of chains.

6. *Raśmikalāpa* contains fifty-four strings (*raśmikalāpaś=ca nava-ṣaṭkaḥ*, LXXX.32).²¹⁶

7. *Guccha*, a necklace of 32 strands (*dvātriṃśatā tu guccho*, LXXX.33),²¹⁷ probably the same as the *gutsa* of the *Amarakoṣa* (II.6.105).

8. *Ardhaguccha* comprises twenty strands according to Varāhamihira (*vimśatyā kīrtito=rdhagucchākhyah*, LXXX.33), and twenty-four according to Kauṭilya (*caturvimśatir ardha-gucchah*), and is the same as the *gutsārdha* mentioned in the *Amarakoṣa* (II.6.105).²¹⁸

9. *Māṇavaka* is made up of sixteen strings according to our text (*ṣoḍaśabhir=māṇavakah*, LXXX.33) but twenty strings according to the *Arthaśāstra* (*vimśatir=māṇavakah*).²¹⁹

10. *Ardhamāṇavaka*. According to Varāhamihira, it comprises twelve strings of pearls (*dvādaśabhiś=c-ārdhamāṇavakah*, LXXX.33), but Kauṭilya considers it to be half of his *māṇavaka*, i.e. 10 strands.²²⁰

11. *Mandara* consists of eight strings of pearls (*mandarasaṃjño=ṣṭābhiḥ*, LXXX.34).

12. *Hārāphalaka* is composed of five pearl-strands (*pañcalatā hārāphalakam=ity=uktam*, LXXX.34).²²¹ It is depicted in a number of Ajanta paintings and sculptures²²² (Fig.26).

13. *Nakṣatramālā*. Kauṭilya takes it as comprising twenty-seven strings of pearls. In the Gupta age, however, it denoted a single strand of twenty-seven pearls, 1 cubit in length (1½') as is evident from its almost identical definition in our text as well as in the *Amarakoṣa*.²²³ Its popularity in subsequent period is vouched for by Bāṇa who frequently refers to it as an ornament tied round the neck of elephants.²²⁴ The *Paūma-cariya* (II.39) also mentions *nakṣatramālā* as a necklace of an elephant. An exquisite specimen of *nakṣatramālā* in gold has been found in the excavations at Taxila (Fig. 27).

14. *Maṇisopānaka*, a single-stringed pearl-necklace with precious stones or gold beads inserted at regular intervals (*antara-maṇisaṃyuktā maṇisopānaṃ suvarṇa-*

gulikair=vā, LXXX.35). Kauṭilya understands it in a somewhat different sense: strings of pearls with a golden wire between two strands is *sopānaka* and the same with a central gem is known as *maṇisopānaka* (*suvarṇa-sūtr-āntaram sopānakam, maṇi-madhyam vā maṇisopānakam*, *Arthaśāstra*, II.11).

15. *Cāṭukāra*, the same as the *maṇisopānaka* with a *taralaka* gem in the centre (*taralaka-maṇi-madhyam tad=viññeyam cāṭukāram=iti*, LXXX.35).

16-17. *Ekāvalī* and *Yaṣṭi*. *Ekāvalī* is a single strand of pearls, 1 cubit long, without any precious stone whatsoever (*Ekāvalī nāma yatheṣṭa-saṅkhyā hasta-pramāṇā maṇi-viprayuktā*, LXXX.36).²²⁵ The *Arthaśāstra* and the *Amarakoṣa* also understand it in the same sense.²²⁶ In view of this, the opinion so popularly held by scholars that the 1-stringed pearl-necklace with a bigger gem in the centre displayed round the neck in so many sculptures and painting of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods represents *ekāvalī*²²⁷ is far from being correct. On the other hand, it should be identified with *yaṣṭi*, which, according to both Varāhamihira and Kauṭilya, denotes a single string of pearls with a central gem (*saṃyojitā yā maṇinā tu madhye yaṣṭi-iti sā bhūṣaṇa-vidbhir=uktā*, LXXX.36; *S=āiva maṇi-madhyā yaṣṭih*, *Arthaśāstra*, II.11). A pearl-necklace with blue sapphires is actually styled *yaṣṭi* and *muktāguṇa* by Kālidāsa.²²⁸ *Ekāvalī* (Fig.27) and *yaṣṭi* were very popular in the Gupta and subsequent periods. Bāṇa compares Rājyaśrī, the only daughter of Prabhākaravardhana and Yaśomatī, over their two sons, Rājyavardhana and Harṣa, with an *ekāvalī* hanging over the breasts.²²⁹ *Yaṣṭi* is to be seen in a number of paintings at Ajanta²³⁰ (Fig.28). The evidence of sculpture, terracotta and painting leaves no room for doubt about the universal popularity of these two necklets.

Other Ornaments

We have references to some other ornaments also, viz. (i) flat torques worn in the neck (*graiveyaka*, XLII.46),²³¹ (ii) earrings (*kuṇḍala*, XLIII.25; XLIX.2: LVII.32, 36, 47), (iii) armlets (*keyūra* XLII.44, 45;²³² *aṅgada*, XLIII.25),²³³ (iv) bracelets (*valaya*, XII.10), (v) anklets (*nūpura*, XLVII.14: LXXVII.1-3), (vi) golden mid-bands called *haimakakṣya*²³⁴ (XXIV.17), and (vii) zones worn by women (*raśanā*, XLII.32.42; YY, IV.14; VIII.13; *raśanā-kalāpa*, LXIX.4; *kāñci-kalāpa*, XLVII.14; LV.6).²³⁵ At one place the girdle (*mekhalā*) meant to hold the loin-cloth in position is distinguished from the ornamental one (*kāñci-kalāpa*, LV.6). There is a reference to elaborate zones impeding the gait of the wearer (XLVII.14).

The zone presented by Śiva to Indra's flagstaff is said to have been variegated in colour, presumably because of the alternative arrangement of precious stones of various colours (XL.II.42). Several varieties of zones are to be found in contemporary sculpture.

Mention is also made of some unspecified ornaments in connection with the festival of Indra's banner: ornaments of the hue of the red *aśoka* flower and quadrangular in shape (*raktāśoka-nikāśam caturasram*, XLII.42); bluish red and octagonal (*aṣṭāśri nīla-raktam*, XLII.43); black and shaped like *masūra* grain (*asitam masūrakam*, XLII.43); hued like madder, hexagonal and resembling waves of water (*mañjiṣṭhābham, ṣaḍaśri, jalormi-nibham*, XLII.44); circular and bearing the lustre of the flames of fire (*anala-jvalā-saṅkāśam, vṛttam*, XLII.45); lustrous and appearing like the wheels of a chariot (*rathacakrābham, prabhā-yuktam*, XLII.46). Two ornaments known as *udvaṁśa* and *niveśa* bearing the lustre of lotus (*udvaṁśam, saroja-saṅkāśam*) and of blue lily (*niveśam, nīlotpalābhāśam*) are named in XLII.47. The head-ornament placed on the top of Indra's flagstaff by Jupiter and Venus is described as bent at the two ends, broad at the upper end and shining like molten red lac (*kiñcid=adha-ūrdhva-nirmitamupari viśālam trayodaśam ketoh, Śirasi Bṛhaspati-Śukrau lākṣā-rasa-sannibham dadātuḥ*, XLII.48).

It was considered auspicious to put on jewels while performing religious rites (LXXXII.1; BY, XVI.1). The king is asked to enjoy jewels every morning (YY, II.25). Precious stones were usually made worth-wearing by boring and stringing them with threads. Thus, 'old gems, whose perforation is clearly visible, become wearable, when combined with new strings.'²³⁶

III. SOME OTHER ARTICLES OF PERSONAL DECORATION

There is no doubt that a high standard of living was attained in the Gupta period. Varāhamihira informs us that clubs, umbrellas, goads, sticks, canopies, spears, banners and fly-whisks were used by all sections of society and that the colour of their handles differed from caste to caste (LXXI.4). Of these, fly-whisk (*cāmara*) and umbrella (*chatra*) occupy one chapter each (LXXI-LXXII).

Cāmara

Chowries were made from the hair on the tail of the *camaris* found in large number in the Himalayan region. The hair may be slightly yellow, black or white;

but glossy, soft, bright and white variety was preferred. The handle of the *cāmara* measured $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits ($2\frac{1}{4}'$), 1 cubit ($1\frac{1}{2}'$), or a smaller cubit with closed fist (*aratni*). It was made of an auspicious wood. The handle of the royal chowrie was covered in gold or silver and decked with various kinds of jewels (LXXI.1-3). According to a later tradition preserved in Bhoja's *Yuktikalpataru*, a royal *cāmara* should be white, ornamented with gold and diamonds, and measure 2 cubits.²³⁷ It was regarded as an emblem of royalty.²³⁸ An even number of joints in the handle was considered to be calamitous to the owner, while an odd number was taken to be favourable (LXII.5-6). That fly-whisks were in great demand is evident from their inclusion in the list of tradeable commodities (XLI.7).

Chatra

The parasol was regarded as the insignia *par excellence* of regal power²³⁹ and indicated the position of an individual in the body politic of the state. The royal umbrella was made of the feathers of swans, cocks, peacocks or cranes, covered on all sides with a fresh white *dukūla* cloth, adorned with pearls and their long strings suspended all round from its ends, and had a crystal pommel. It was 3 cubits in diameter, well-knit all over and studded with jewels. Its stick, measuring 6 cubits (9 feet), was made of the wood of a single tree, and covered with pure gold. The stick with 9 or 7 joints was taken to be favourable. In Ajanta paintings we have several representations of umbrellas richly decorated with pearl-festoons across the top and a cluster of pearl strings hanging therefrom (Fig.29 A+B).²⁴⁰ The rods of the umbrellas of the crown-prince, queen, army-chief (*senāpati*) and commander (*daṇḍa-nāyaka*) measured 4 cubits, the diameter of the umbrella proper being $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits (LXXII.4). The reason of this extra-ordinary length of the rod lies in the fact that these high dignitaries of the state did not carry umbrellas by themselves; they were held over their head by attendants who are represented in art as dwarfish or short-statured.²⁴¹ The parasols of the state officials other than the crown-prince were intended only for protection from heat and were made with peacock feathers, and decked with the *prasādapaṭṭa* at the top and with wreaths of jewels hanging on all sides (LXXII.5). In the case of ordinary people an umbrella did not indicate the status of its owner, but was meant to protect from cold and heat. It was to be square. It is interesting to note in this connection that in some paintings at Ajanta monks and common people are represented as carrying umbrellas with squarish top (Fig.30). The

rod of a Brāhmaṇa's umbrella was to be circular and cylindrical (LXXII.6). Umbrellas were also used in religious ceremonials.²⁴²

VI

PERFUMERY AND TOILET

I. PERFUMERY

Gandhayukti

The Gandhayukti section of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (Ch.LXXVI) offers rich material for a chapter on the history of ancient Indian cosmetics. The word *gandhayukti*, which stands for the art and science of cosmetics and perfumery (XV.12; XVI.17), literally means 'a combination of perfumes'.²⁴³ Vātsyāyana (I.3.16) refers to it as one of the sixty-four subsidiary arts connected with erotics. The Buddhist Sanskrit text *Lalita-vistara* (edited by P.L.Vaidya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No.1, Darbhanga, 1958, p.108) also includes it in the list of eighty-four arts (*śilpas*) in which Buddha as a child is said to have attained excellence. Of the chemical processes employed in the manufacture of perfumes, mention is made of (i) decoction (*pakva*, LXXVI.2), (ii) heating (*tapta*, LXXVI.6), (iii) mixing (*saṃyuta*, LXXVI.12, 16), (iv) fumigation (*pradhūpa*, 6; *dhūpya*, 8,26,30; *dhūpayitavya*, 16), (v) sprinkling (*sikta*, 27) and (vi) combination of one powder with another (*bodha* 11, 16; *prabodha* 12; *udbodha* 26; *bodhita* 27).²⁴⁴ Utpala adds two more, viz., (vii) purification of the ingredients (*dravya-saṃskāra*) and (viii) blending a liquid with another (*vedha*).²⁴⁵ Elsewhere, *bhāvana* or saturation of a powder with a liquid is also incidentally referred to (LXXV.5, 6).²⁴⁶

The widespread use of perfumes gave rise to a specialised class of artisans who took to the manufacture of and trade in cosmetics for their occupation (*gandhayuktijña*, XV.12; *gandhayuktivid*, XVI.17; *kācchika*, (LXXXVI.41). The various kinds of perfumes described by Varāhamihira are given below.

Hair-bath

A kind of scented water for bathing the head was prepared from equal proportions of cassia bark (*tvac*), costus (*kuṣṭha*), *renu*, *nalikā*, *spṛkkā*, resin (*rasa*), *Bignonia chelonoides* (*tagara*), *vālaka*, *kesara* and *patra* (LXXVI.5).

Hair-oil

An hair-oil emitting the scent of the *campaka* (*Michelia champaka*) flower was produced from equal quantities of the powders of madder (*mañjiṣṭhā*), *vyāghranakha*, *śukti*, cassia bark, costus, resin, thrown into sesamum oil, and then heated in the sun (LXXVI.6).²⁴⁷ According to a somewhat different method of preparing scented oils given in the *Agni-purāṇa*, sesamum grains were first perfumed with flowers and then crushed to yield oil. Such an oil would have the scent of the flowers by which sesamum grains are scented.²⁴⁸

Perfumes

We get formulae for the preparation of a number of compound perfumes. The perfume obtained by mingling together equal quantities of *patra*, *turuṣka*, *vāla* and *Bignonia chelonoides* was known as *smaroddīpana*, 'kindler of passion.' The same with *vyāmaka* and fumigated with *kaṭukā* and asafoetida was called *vakula*; that with costus gave the fragrance of lotus (*utpala-gandhika*) and with sandal powder, that of *campaka*; and the addition of *jātīphala* (nutmeg), cassia bark and *kustumburu* (spice coriander) yielded a perfume smelling like *atimuktaka* or jasmine flower (LXXVI.7).

Another formula for obtaining eighty-four perfumes of the fragrance of *vakula* flower is set forth in LXXVI.29-30. We are directed to draw a diagram of nine squares in which are to be entered nine aromatic ingredients, viz., *rodhra*, *uśīra*, *Bignonia chelonoides*, *aguru*, *mustā*, *patra*, *priyaṅgu*, *vana* and *pathyā* in order. Any three substances taken in order should be mixed with one part each of sandal and *turuṣka*, a half of *śukti* and a quarter of *śatapuspā* and fumigated with *kaṭukā*, asafoetida and jaggery. In this way by different combinations and permutations we get eighty-four scents.²⁴⁹ The diagram given in the note will elucidate the process.²⁵⁰

Next we are introduced to the manner of preparing some all-purpose perfumes called *Śarvatobhadra*.²⁵¹ First, we have to make a diagram comprising 16 compartments by drawing 5 lines vertically and 5 across these horizontally and then to place horizontally 2, 3, 5 and 8 proportions of *aguru*, *patra*, *turuṣka* and *śaileya*; 5, 8, 2 and 3 proportions of *priyaṅgu*, *mustā*, *rasa* and *keśa*; 4, 1, 7 and 6 parts of *spṛkkā*, cassia bark, *Bignonia chelonoides* and *māmsī*; and 7, 6, 4 and 1 proportions of sandal, *nakha*, *śrīka* and *kunduruka* respectively in individual

compartments as shown in the note below.²⁵² Consequently, in whichever way, viz., horizontally, vertically or diagonally, we blend four substances, we get eighteen proportions for each perfume. Each of these compounds should be combined with *nakha*, *Bignonia chelonoides*, *туруška*, nutmeg, camphor and musk, and fumigated with jaggery and *nakha*.

Mouth-perfumes

The aforementioned tetrads taken at will and enriched with nut-meg, musk and camphor and sprinkled with the juice of mango fruits and honey yield several mouth-perfumes with the scent of *pārijāta* flower (LXXVI.27). These appear to have been done into small tablets for chewing. According to the *Agni-purāṇa* (CCXXIV.34), numerous mouth-perfumes (*mukha-vāsaka*) were formed by combining small cardamoms, cloves, *kañkola*, nutmeg, *niśākara* and *jāti-pattra*. Next the same work details the mode of making perfume-tablets (*guṭikās*) for chewing. It is interesting to note that nutmeg, musk, camphor and mango-juice continued till late as regular components of mouth-perfumes as is clear from their mention in this connection in the *Agni-purāṇa* (CCXXIV.34-8), *Śārīngadhara-paddhati* (verse 3250) and *Nāgara-sarvasva* (IV.7-9).

Bath Powders

All the aforesaid perfumes which need *śrīvāsaka* and *saṛja* in their preparation make fine bath-powders when these are replaced by *vālaka* and cassia bark (LXXVI.28). In the *Nāgara-sarvasva* (IV.12) we read of a bath-powder made from cassia bark, *aguru*, *mustaka*, *Bignonia chelonoides*, *caura*, *saṭhī*, *granthi*, *parṇaka*, *nakha* and musk. The *Agni-purāṇa* (CCXXIV.27b-29) regards cassia bark, *nāḍī*, *phala*, oil, saffron, *granthi-parvaka*, *śaileya*, *Bignonia chelonoides*, *krāntā*, *caula*, *camphor*, *māmsī*, *surā* and costus as articles for bath (*snāna-dravyāṇi*), and taking any three of these and mixing the same with musk, we get many bath-perfumes.

Incense

Various kinds of incense (*dhūpa*) were also in use, especially in religious worship (XLVII.32). The mixture of ¼th of *śatapuspā* and *kunduruka*, ½ of *nakha* and *туруška*, and ¼th of sandal and *priyaṅgu* yielded an incense which was fumigated with jaggery and *nakha*. Utpala tells us that the practice among the perfumers was to fumigate first all these ingredients with *harītakī* before doing

so with jaggery and *nakha*.²⁵³ Another type of incense was obtained by blending equal quantities of *guggulu*, *vālaka*, lac (*lākṣā*), *mustā*, *nakha* and sugar. The *Piṇḍa-dhūpa* (perfume lump) was constituted by *māmsī*, *vālaka*, *туруška*, *nakha* and sandal mixed in equal proportion. The Cālukya king Someśvara in his *Mānasollāsa* gives a different list of ingredients for the formation of the *Piṇḍa-dhūpa*. According to him, equal portions of the powder of lac, *guggula*, camphor, *rāla*, *kunṭuru*, *silhaka* (the same as *туруška*), *śrīkhaṇḍa*, *sarala* wood, *laghu-koṣṭha*, *vālaka*, *māmsī*, saffron, *pathyā*, musk, *pūti-bijaka*, *śaṅkha-nābhi*, *nakha*, sugar, honey, clarified butter, and jaggery, except the liquids, when mixed with two parts of *laghu-karpūra*, yielded *Cūrṇa-dhūpa* (incense powder), while the same including the liquids (*silha*, honey, clarified butter) when made into lump with the help of jaggery formed *Piṇḍa-dhūpa*.²⁵⁴ The highly prized incense called *Kopa-cchada* was made from four parts each of sugar, *śaileyaka* and *mustā*; two parts each of *śrīvāsaka* and *sarja*, and one part each of *nakha* and *guggulu* mixed with the powder of camphor and done into lumps with honey (LXXVI.11). Many varieties of incense were obtained by combining nine aromatic ingredients, viz., *haritakī*, *śaṅkha*, *ghana*, *drava* (rasa or resin), *vālaka*, jaggery, *utpala* (costus), *śailaka*, *mustā*, in proportions indicated by multiple of 1/9th (LXXVI.10). Thus each of these substances mixed in different proportions yields eight *dhūpas*, the total number being seventy-two.²⁵⁵

An interesting method of obtaining a surprisingly large number of incenses is found in LXXVI.13-22. All imaginable combinations and permutations of every four of the following sixteen aromatic ingredients in 1, 2, 3 and 4 parts are said to give 1820,²⁵⁶ 43680 or 174720 different kinds of frankincense.²⁵⁷ The sixteen ingredients are : *ghana*, *vālaka*, *śaileyaka*, camphor, *uśīra*, *nāga-puṣpa*, *vyāghra-nakha*, *spṛkkā*, *aguru*, *madanaka*, *nakha*, *Bignonia chelonoides*, coriander, camphor, *cola* and sandal.²⁵⁸ In no preparation more than one part of coriander need be added, and camphor should be added in still less proportion, for their smell is too strong, and if used in larger proportions they would diminish the fragrance of other substances (LXXVI.15).²⁵⁹ All these substances were first severally fumigated with *śrīvāsaka*, *sarja*, jaggery and *nakha* and then mixed with musk and camphor (LXXVI.16).

Talcum Powder (Puṭavāsa)

Varāhamihira gives us the method of preparing a talc-powder. Cassia bark, *uśīra*, and *pattra*, taken in equal proportion, and small cardamom in half quantity,

when powdered and enriched with musk and camphor yielded a powder named *Putavāsa* which was applied to the whole body²⁶⁰ (LXXVI.12). In case the variant reading *paṭavāsa* noticed by the commentator is accepted, this powder would appear to have been used for perfuming cloths.

II. TOILET

Even regarding toilet, Varāhamihira furnishes some interesting information.

Hair-dye (Mūrdhaja-rāga)

As garlands, perfumes, incense, cloths, ornaments and other articles of decoration fail to embellish the person of a grey-haired man, his anxiety for darkening the hair is quite natural (LXXVI.1).²⁶¹ A hair-colouring device is, therefore, given in LXXVI.2-4. Boiled with an acid-gruel (*śukla*)²⁶² in an iron vessel, *kodrava* (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*) grains along with iron powder (*loha-cūrṇa*) should be ground to a fine paste. A grey-haired man should apply it to his head, already washed with an acid gruel and keep the head covered with green leaves for six hours; then having removed it, he should apply myrobalan paste and screen the head with green leaves for another six hours whereafter the head should be washed and the hair would be found turned black. Next, he should remove the repelling odour of iron and acid by the afore-described hair-bath and scented oils. Utpala informs us that most of these ingredients were washed with vinegar (*kāñjika*), some with clean water, others with bovine urine and then cooked in an iron vessel with *nakha* and gingelly oil.²⁶³ An older work, the *Navanītaka*²⁶⁴ (cir. 2nd century AD) describes as many as eleven hair-dyes-recipes and refers to forty-six ingredients employed in their preparation, some being colour-producing agents. Of these only three, myrobalan, iron powder and iron vessel, are common to the *Navanītaka* and *Bṛhatsamhitā* lists; but the latter adds *kodrava-taṇḍula* and *ārdra-pattra* (green leaves), which are unknown to the former.

Hair-dressing and Shaving

A short-haired woman was detested.²⁶⁵ Women perfumed their hair (LXXVII.15)²⁶⁶ and fastened them in long tresses (*veṇī*, L.40; LXXVII.1).²⁶⁷ The great care paid to the hair is obvious from the fact that a glance at a man with besmeared but loose hair and suffering from hair-diseases at the commencement of a journey was considered to be inauspicious (YY, XIII.14).

Let us now turn our attention to practices appertaining shave (*kṣaura*). The constellations of Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Mṛgaśiras, Śravaṇā, Dhaniṣṭhā, Śatabhiṣaj, Revatī, Aśvinī, Jyeṣṭhā, Puṣya and Punarvasu, the moment of their rise or of the *muhūrtas* presiding over them, and when the moon and stars are favourable, are commended for tonsorial operations (XCVII.12). On the contrary, a shave at the morning and evening junctures (*sandhyās*), at night, on Saturday, Tuesday and Sunday, on the 4th, 9th and 14th *tithis*, on the 9th day counted from the previous shave, and in Viṣṭi *karaṇa* was disapproved. The rules of decorum required that one should not shave after bath, immediately before proceeding on a journey, after wearing ornaments, anointing the body with oil and taking food, at the time of battle and without a seat (XCVII.13;³⁶⁸ YY, II.35). But shaving was allowed irrespective of all astrological considerations at royal command, at the instance of Brāhmaṇas, on the occasion of a marriage, while mourning a death, at release from prison, and when initiated for performing a sacrifice (XCVII.14). The beard was generally cropped up every fifth day (YY, II.35).²⁶⁹ Vātsyāyana (I.4.17), however, recommends the cleansing of the face every fourth day, while the hair of private parts were to be removed every fifth or tenth day.

Tooth-sticks (Danta-Kāṣṭha)

Tooth-sticks were extensively used for cleaning teeth,²⁷⁰ and some beliefs about them are recorded in the Danta-kāṣṭha-lakṣaṇādhyāya of the *Brhatsamhitā* (Ch.LXXXIV). Twigs of thousands of creepers, spreading plants, shrubs and trees were used as tooth-sticks, those of *vikaṅkati*, *bilva*, *kāśmarī*, *kṣema-taru*, banyan, *arka*, *madhūka*, *śirīṣa*, *karañja*, *plakṣa*, *jāti*, *ficus religiosa*, jujube, *brhatī*, teak, *śrī-phala*, jasmine, *kadamba*, *nīpa*, *arjuna*, *karavīra*, *bhāṇḍīra*, *samī*, *śyāmā*, *śāla*, *aśvakarṇa*, *devadāru*, *cātūrūṣaka*, *priyaṅgu*, *apāmārga*, rose apple, and pomegranate being especially recommended and believed to bestow good luck (LXXIV.1, 3-7). Some of these twigs are also recommended by Suśruta (I.24.5-7) and Caraka (I.5.48-9). The tooth-sticks that are not tried before, have leaves and an even number of joints, are split, withered at the top, and without skin, it is said, ought not to be used (LXXXIV.2; YY, II.20). Normally a tooth-stick should be a *vitasti* (9") in length (*ibid.*, II.21).²⁷¹

A recipe for perfuming tooth-sticks is given in LXXVI.31-4. Kept in bovine urine mixed with the powder of *haritakī* for a week, they were immersed for some time (half a night according to Utpala) in the scented water prepared from small

cardamoms, cassia bark, *añjana*, honey, pepper, *nāga-kesara* and costus mixed in equal proportions. Next they (probably their upper part) were powdered with 4, 2, 1 and 3 parts of nutmeg, cassia bark, small cardamoms and camphor respectively and dried in the sun. Such tooth-sticks, it is said, give freshness of complexion, facial lustre, cleanliness and fragrance of the mouth and sweet speech. A similar device of perfuming tooth-cleaners is found in the *Agni-purāṇa* (CCXXIV.40). But there we are asked to immerse them in bovine urine for only three days instead of a week.

Tāmbūla

The practice of chewing betel has been current in India from very early times, as is obvious from its mention in the oldest extant medical treatises *Caraka* (I.5.76-7) and *Suśruta* (Sūtra-sthāna, XLVI.279-80; Cikitsā-sthāna, XXIV.21). It formed a *sine qua non* of ancient Indian toilet.²⁷² Varāhamihira refers to lime (*cūrṇa*), areca nut (*pūga-phala*) and betel leaf (*pattra*) as essential ingredients of a *tāmbūla*. Spices like *kakkola*, clove and nutmeg were also used (LXXVI.36-7). It is interesting to note that catechu (*khadira*) which is now invariably used with betel and is referred to in all later medical *Samhitās*²⁷³ is conspicuously absent in our text.²⁷⁴ It is stated that a *tāmbūla* with a moderate quantity of lime imparts good colour, that with an excess of areca nut mars the colour, with an over-dose of lime produces bad odour in the mouth, while the one with an excessive proportion of betel leaf makes it fragrant (LXXVI.36). An over-dose of leaf was taken in the night and that of areca nut in the day. The chewing of betel contrary to it was disapproved (LXXVI.37). The *tāmbūla*, we are told, stimulates love, adds to physical charm, perfumes the mouth, gives strength, dispels phlegmatic diseases (LXXVI.35) and causes amorous intoxication. It is mentioned as an important item of women's toilet in inscriptions.²⁷⁵

Flowers and Garlands

Flowers of various descriptions and flower garlands (*sraja*,²⁷⁶ *mālā*,²⁷⁷ *mālya*,²⁷⁸ *dāma*²⁷⁹) were profusely used by both men (*mālya-dhara*, C.8)²⁸⁰ and women (*mālinī*, XIII.1; CIII.24; *srag-dharā*, CIII.5). Garlands are described as a component of Cupid's snare (LXXV.2). The wearing of garlands by women during menses was prohibited (LXXVII.21). Garlands were, as now, invariably employed for worship (XLII.57; XLVII.27, 32). White garlands were especially esteemed (XIII.1;²⁸¹ XLIII.27; BY, XX.1).

Incidental references to some other items of toilet also occur. Belles used to decorate their cheeks with various patterns (*tilaka*, CIII.28).²⁸² Collyrium, noted for darkness,²⁸³ was employed in worshipping manes (XLVII.30) and other religious rites (XLIII.9). *Bhaṅgāñjana*, a special toilet collyrium²⁸⁴, occurs in LIII.107. It is probably the same as *bhinnāñjana* mentioned in XXXII.21. Uptala (on XLIII.9) names two more varieties, *srotāñjana*^{284a} and *saubhāñjana*. Various kinds of unguents (*anulepana*, XVI.27; *vilepana*, XLIII.27) were also in use, white ones being regarded as auspicious. Women used to make a mark on their forehead (XXVII.7),²⁸⁵ presumably with saffron²⁸⁶ or *hīṅguluka*.²⁸⁷ *Abhyañjana*, the oil for anointing the body, was used in worshipping manes (XLVII.30). *Phenaka* (LXXXVI.12), a lather-giving article, corresponding to soap, was an important item of a gentleman's toilet in those days. Vātsyāyana (I.4.17) requires his *nāgaraka* to cleanse his person with *phenaka* every third day. It was considered auspicious to look into a mirror (*darpaṇa*,²⁸⁸ *ādarśa*²⁸⁹) or clarified butter in the morning (YY, II.23). Mirror, normally circular in shape (Fig.31),²⁹⁰ formed one of the articles decorating Indra's banner (XLII.57), and Ekānaṁśā, a Vaiṣṇava goddess, was shown holding a looking glass in one of her hands (LVII.39). A glance at it on the eve of a journey was taken to augur good luck (TY, IX.11; YY, XIII.10). That mirrors were often highly polished and glossy will appear from the allusion to a mirror removing the darkness of a room by means of solar rays reflected in it (IV.2). Elsewhere, he refers to a mirror with a spot caused by hot vapoury breath blown on it (V.50).²⁹¹

VII

FURNITURE AND MISCELLANEOUS MATERIALS

I. FURNITURE

Forming one of the commonest requisites of a household, furniture was technically known as *śayanāsana*²⁹² or *śayyāsana*,²⁹³ corresponding to Pāli *senāsana*, literally meaning bedstead and seat. The *Śayyāsana-lakṣaṇādhyāya* (Ch.LXXVIII) of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* affords some interesting information regarding furniture. Being the chief concern of wood-workers' art, the first question to be discussed in any account of furniture should be the selection of trees, the wood whereof can be employed in fabricating it. Our author throws welcome light on this question. Unfit

for use in furniture was the timber of trees growing on a cremation ground, river-confluences, near a temple, by the road-side; *caitya-vṛkṣas*, those that are withered at the top, entwined by creepers, and thorny; those that contain birds' nests or bee-hives; those that are felled by thunderbolt, rain, wind or elephants; and that have fallen down in a westerly or southerly direction (LXXVIII.4-5).²⁹⁴ In case the timber had been cut formerly, it was to be re-examined at the commencement of the work (LXXVIII.6). The trees most esteemed for fashioning bedsteads and seats were *asana* (*Pentaptera tomentosa*), *spandana* or *syandana* (*Dalbergia onginensis*), *candana* (*Pterocarpus santalinus*), *haridra* (*Mesua ferrea*?) *suradāru* (*Pinus Deodaru*), *tindukī* (*Diosperos glutinosa*), *śāla* (*Shorea robusta*), *kāśmarī* (*gambhar*, *Gmelina arborea*), *añjana* (*Micheelea champaka*), *padmaka* (a Nepalese timber tree yielding a red wood), *śāka* (teak, *Tectona grandis*), and *śimśapā* (*Dalbergia sisu*).²⁹⁵ The use of 1, 2, 3 or 4 kinds of timber in one and the same article was allowed, while that of 5, 6, 7 or 8 was believed to forebode calamities (LXXVIII.38-9).²⁹⁶ Some rules were observed with regard to the combination of the wood of certain trees. Thus the timber of *tindukī* and *śimśapā* was not joined with any other wood; that of *devadāru* and *asana* was not combined with *śrīparaṇa*; *śāla* and *śāka* were used jointly as well as separately; so were *haridra* and *kadamba*; *spandana* and *amba* were not used alone; *asana* combined with another wood was supposed to cause many troubles. Legs of *spandana* were preferred in couches and seats fashioned from *amba*, *spandana* and *candana*. The timber of all fruit-bearing trees was considered very auspicious (LXXVIII.15-8). Timber with profusion of holes and knots was taken to be unfit for all purposes.²⁹⁷

Ivory was used for decoration work in association with all the trees enumerated above (LXXVIII.19, 20-6).²⁹⁸

As suggested by the word *śayanāsana*, furniture was of two kinds, viz., *śayana*, meant for lying and *āsana*, meant for sitting. We have references to *śayana*²⁹⁹ or *śayyā*,³⁰⁰ bed and bedstead as a whole; *khaṭvā* (LXVIII.29), cot; *paryānika* (LXVIII.22), couch or high seat; *āsana*,³⁰¹ a seat, *bhadrāsana*³⁰² or *bhadrapiṭha*,³⁰³ throne; *piṭha* (BY, XXXII.13), a seat or stool; *upadhāna*,³⁰⁴ pillow; *śayanācchādana* (CIII.8) or *śayanāstarāṇa* (CIII.23), bed-sheet.

Śayyā

We get measurements of couches meant for the king, prince, minister, army-chief and royal priest. The king's couch, we are told, should be 100 digits³⁰⁵ long; that of prince, 90; of minister, 84; of army-chief, 78; and of the priest, 72; half

of the length lessened by $1/8$ th gives their width. The height of the supports (*pāda*) inclusive of the middle (*kuṣya*) and top (*śīras*) portions is said to be $1/3$ rd of the length.³⁰⁶ The frame consisting of four wooden beams, one each on head-side and foot-side and two on two sides, was known as *iṣā*. Two holes were made at the ends of each of the two shorter beams and the side beams were then fixed into them. In doing so a definite order was followed. In the tip (*agra*) of the head beam was thrown the foot (*mūla*) of the right side beam; the latter's tip was fixed into the foot of the foot side beam; the latter's tip was fitted in the foot of the left side beam; the latter's tip was joined with the foot of the head-side plank. It was known as *pradakṣiṇāgra* order. Following a sequence contrary to it (*apasavyāgra*) or laying the tips of head and foot-side planks in the same direction (*ekadigagra*) was forbidden and supposed to cause fear from ghosts.³⁰⁷ Proper care was taken to see that supports were not laid topsyturvy (*avākśīras*, LXXVIII.28). The legs were divided into five parts from top to bottom technically known as *śīras* (head), *kumbha* (pitcher), *jaṅghā* (shank), *ādhāra* (base) and *khura* (hoof). The *kumbha* was so called evidently because of its being fashioned like a pitcher. It is referred to as *āmalaka* in Buddhist literature and is depicted in some sculptures from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda³⁰⁸ (Fig.32). All the five parts are distinctly represented in the *Kuṣāṇa* art (Fig.33). A big hollow or discoloured knot in these parts as also the one occurring at a third of the length of the side-beams and cross-beams was considered inauspicious (LXXVIII.29-31).

***Paryāṅka* (LXXVIII.11-4)**

From the manner of its mention, *paryāṅka* seems to denote a seat. *Paryāṅkas* were usually made from the timber of a single tree. The costly *paryāṅka* meant for royal use was fabricated entirely from sandalwood, covered with gold and decked with variegated jewels.³⁰⁹ According to the *Mānasāra*, *paryāṅka* admits of nine varieties on account of its width ranging from 21 to 37 *āṅgulas*, with successive increase of 2 *āṅgulas* each.³¹⁰ Its numerous varieties are illustrated in sculptures from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. We have square, rectangular and circular seats with or without arm-rests and back.³¹¹

Bhadrāsana

It was a royal seat fashioned from gold, silver, copper or a milky tree. It was to be 1, $1\frac{1}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in height according as it was meant for a feudatory

chief (*māṇḍalika*), conqueror of adjoining principalities (*anantarajit*), and for one aspiring to be a universal monarch (*samastarājyārthin*).³¹² It was also called *bhadrāpīṭha* (YY, XIII.11). In ceremonious ablutions, i.e., *Puṣyasnāna*, *Vijayasnāna*, *Nakṣatravijayasnāna*,³¹³ the king sat on a *bhadrāsana* placed over the skins of certain animals. It appears from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II.26.17) that it was a sign of royalty and carried by an attendant in front of the king.³¹⁴

II. UTENSILS

We come across household vessels (*bhājana*,³¹⁵ *bhāṇḍa*,³¹⁶ *pātra*³¹⁷) made of gold (BY, XVII.10), silver (*Ib.*, LXXX.26), crystal (LXVII.89; YY, V.36), earthenware (LII.92; BY, XVII.10), iron (XLI.11; LXXVI.2) and horns (BY, IV.22; YY, VII.12). They were decorated with multi-coloured patterns (*citra-bhāṇḍa*, X.10). Varāhamihira refers to (1) *kalaśa*³¹⁸ a small pitcher, that with unburnt bottom (*akāla-mūla*) being regarded as especially sacred (XXIV.7; BY, XVII.4); (2) *kumbha*,³¹⁹ a large pitcher, fashioned from clay or costly metals like gold and silver (BY, XVII.10); (3) *ghaṭa*,³²⁰ a big jar hollow in the middle and narrow at the mouth³²¹ (*Ghaṭavat suṣiraṁ madhye saṅkaṭam=āsyē ca*, LXXVIII.33), that made from crystal being mentioned in LXVII.89 and YY, V.36; (4) *kamaṇḍalu* (LVII.39, 41), a gourd or water-vessel made of wood or clay; (5) *kusūla* (XCVI.6; BY, XXXII.13), a large earthenware pot for storing grain;³²² (6) *darvī* (XLV.62), a ladle; (7) *sruk* (XLIII.12), a sacrificial ladle fashioned from gold or silver; (8) *pīṭhara* (LXVII.18), a water-pot³²³ of fragile material so that it could be easily heated in the sun (*sūrya-tapta-pīṭharāmbu-pāyinaḥ*, XXIV.30); (9) *śarāva* (XLVII.36), a shallow dish or platter of clay;³²⁴ (10) *bhṛṅgāra*,³²⁵ a golden water-pot which was regarded as very auspicious; (11) *dr̥ti* (YY, I.4), a large leather bag for storage of water;³²⁶ (12) *viṣāṇa-koṣa* (YY VII.12; BY, IV.22), a vessel made from the tusk of an elephant or the horn of a bull meant for keeping *ghee* and honey for ceremonial ablutions.³²⁷

Of other household articles (*upaskara*, XI.42; XLV.62),³²⁸ Varāhamihira refers to the fan (*vyajana*, LXIX.10; YY, VIII.4), the winnowing basket (*śūrpa*, XLV.62; LXVII.3) and lamp (*dīpa*) with its wick (*vartti*) and oil (LXXXIII.1-2), nails (*kīlaka*, LII.58), the wooden mortar (*ulūkhala*, LXVII.47), the razor for shave (*kṣura*, XCVII.12, 13, 14), the axe (*paraśu*, XLII.19) for cutting wood, the rope (*rajju*, XLII.66; L.14; XCIV.40), the leathern thong (*varatrā*) and the iron chain (*śṛṅkhalā* LXXXVIII.1).

The water-clock (*ambu-yantra*³²⁹, *jala-yantra*³³⁰) and the sundial (*chāyā-yantra*)³³¹ were used for measuring time.

VIII

FAMILY AND OTHER SOCIAL HABITS

Family

Family was the smallest unit of social organisation. Joint family system was the prevailing order of the day. Families were often very large (*mahākula*, XVII.4; YY, IV.58; XV.1). The son continued to live with his parents and brothers even after marriage (LXIX.20). Family relationships included father (*pitṛ*, LXVII.13; YY, IV.47; *janaka*, LXVII.15), mother (*mātr*, L.26; *janitrī*, LXXIII.11; YY, IV.17; *jananī*, *ibid.*, V.38), sons (*puttra*, L.25; LII.75; CII.12; *tanaya*, CII.2; *ātmaja*, CII.5; *suta*, LII.73-5), daughters (*kanyā*, LXVII.13), grandsons (*pautra*, CII.12), grandfather (*pitāmaha*, II.2), husband (*pati*, LXIX.20; *bhartr*, YY, V.31), wife (*jāyā*, LXXIII.11; YY, V.31; *bhāryā*, L.25; *dārā*, LXXXIV.3; C.2; *kalatra*, C.11; *patnī*, L.26; VP, 19, 34), brothers (*bhrātṛ*, L.26), sisters (*bhaginī*, L.25), husband's brother (*devara*, LXIX.20), brother's wife (L.26) and maternal uncle (*mātula*, CIII.61). People were very eager to have their houses filled with children and grandchildren.³³² Family-members were tied together by bonds of mutual love and affection; their relations were normally cordial; but there were some who cut asunder ties with their kith and kin, killed their own relatives and wandered in foreign lands (CIII.39). Being most worried about the well-being of her children, the mother was held in high esteem (LXVII.91; YY, V.38). There is a reference to large families breaking up because of dissensions amongst their members (YY, IV.58). Birth in a good or bad family determined the social status of an individual (VIII.10; XV.16, 27; BY, XV.1). An individual was supposed to represent his family whose character could be judged by his own conduct (YY, V.35).

Education

The four traditional *vidyās*, viz., *vārtā* or economics, *trayī* or the three Vedas, *daṇḍa-nīti* or polity, and *ānvikṣikī* or philosophy, as also metaphysics (*adhyakṣara*), are mentioned in XIX.11. Varāhamihira mentions grammarians (*vyākaraṇābhīyukta*, YY, V.6), *mīmāṃsakas* (*ibid.*, IV.24), poets (*kavi*, V.39; X.3, 17; XVI.18; XIX.12; XXXII.11; *kāvya-jñā*, YY, V.6) and the gatherings of poets (*kāvya-jñā-goṣṭhi*, *ibid.*,

V.6) and scholars (*viduṣām samavāya*, *ibid.*, V.7). It is remarked that one well-versed in grammar alone is laughed at in a poets' gathering. A student frequently changing teachers is alluded to with pointed scorn (*ibid.*, IV.3),³³³ whereas one revering his teacher is complimented (*ibid.*, IV.40).³³⁴ YY, IV.26 states that the learning of a poor man comes to an end owing to family worries. A tree (i.e. bark or leaf), palm-leaf, cloth, lotus-leaf, reeds, leather and silk (*paṭṭa*) are named as writing materials (LXXXV.76).

Morality

The standard of sex morality, particularly of women, was considerably high; but there are found some uncomplimentary remarks which may be recorded here. There are several references to men³³⁵ and women³³⁶ indulging in illegitimate love. Varāhamihira alludes to men having sexual intercourse with other species (*nṛṇām c-ā-jāti-maithunāt*, LXXXV.66) and Utpala tells us that men actually had sexual union with mares, etc.³³⁷ While composing his chapter on the transit of planets (*BS*, CIII) in varied metres, Varāhamihira doubts whether or not his work would receive due admiration from the scholarly world in the presence of Māṇḍavya's metrical treatise. 'I am afraid', says he, 'my composition may not be appreciated by those who have heard that of Māṇḍavya; but not so, for men do not like their chaste wives so much as courtesans.'³³⁸ We also hear of women gratifying their lust with the help of ladies posing as men.³³⁹

Pastimes

People amused themselves in various ways. Varāhamihira refers to skilled dancers (V.73; X.3), wrestlers (XV.19), jugglers and magicians (XVI.18, *indrajālaṅṅ*, *kuhakaṣṭhaka*), jesters (*hāsyajña*, XIX.12), gamblers (*dyūtaṣṭh*, IX.34; *kitava*, X.6) and actors (*raṅgopajīvya*, IX.43). Bull-fighting (XLVII.44;³⁴⁰ LXXXVI.22³⁴¹) and cock-fighting (LXII.2) were also in vogue. Then there were festivals when roads were swept, decorated with variegated flags, arches, and garlands and flanked by beautifully attired courtesans, shops were decorated and squares filled with actors, dancers and musicians (XLII.25-6). They provided opportunities to young men and women to come closer (LXXVII.11). Children played with toys (*bāla-kṛīḍanaka*, YY, IV.19) and clapped to express joy (XLII.28). In the rainy season, they took delight in erecting miniature clay constructions on roads (XXVIII.5).

Etiquette and Expressions

People were required to observe restraint in speech before elders. Thus a man approaching his grandfather and describing his mother as possessing harlot-like qualities is reproached (II.2). It was against the then etiquettes to sleep above grains, cows, elders, fire and gods and on a bed stretched diagonally, with the head turned to the north or west, with wet feet³⁴² and naked³⁴³ (LII.122). Guests, friends and relatives were respected and food was shared with them (XIX.18).

That facial expression varies according to mental frame is stated in CIII.56.³⁴⁴ That a man afraid of his enemies moves fast is recorded in CIII.20.³⁴⁵ CIII.15 says that the wealthy pay no heed to others' facial expressions. There are references to the whistling sound produced from the mouth (*kṣveḍā*)³⁴⁶ and to that produced by keeping an arm on the breast and then beating it with the other hand (*āspḥoṭita*),³⁴⁷ XXXIII.23; LXXXV.39). The king sat in the Hall of Justice (*dharma-sabhā*) with his right hand raised above (YY, II.27).³⁴⁸

Notes and References

1. III.19; XXXIII.14, etc.
2. VIII.10; XXXII.18; BY, XXIII.7; YY, IX.2, 4, etc. The word *jāti* is very often suffixed to the names of low castes, e.g. *Ugra-jāti* (XV.29; YY, IX.6), *Caṇḍāla-jāti* (XV.30; YY, IX.7), *Mleccha-jāti* (XVI.34).
3. YY, IV.4.
4. IV.23; V.20, 32, 71, 76; IX.39; XII.18; XV.1, XVIII.4; XIX.13; XXIV.7; XXXIII.14; LVIII.5; LXVIII.38; LXXIX.11; LXXXVI. 3, etc.
5. Cf. *anuvāṇa* (III.19; LII 89), *varṇa-krama* (LXXI.4).
6. Also cf. III, 19; X.21; XXX.17; XXXIII.14; XXXV.8; XXXVI.1; LI.1.
7. Also see V.32; XXX.16; XXXI.3-4; XXXIII.15; XXXVI.1. XI.II.65;
8. XIX.13; XLII.26; XLIII.6; XLVII.49.
9. XXIV.6; XLII.30; YY, VIII.2,3,8,12, etc.
10. Chs. XLII, XLIII, XLV, XLVII, LII.123, LIX.
11. XLII.38; XLV.17, 24, 32, 37, 45, 53, 57-8, 64, 71-2, LII.97; LIX. 11, 17-8; XCVI.17; CIV.8; BY, XVI.31; YY, II.23; IX.16-17.
12. आयान्ति ते स्वभवानि पुनः कृतार्याः।
दत्ता द्विजातिषु पुरा विधिवद् ययार्याः॥
YY, IV.58.

13. ...न तेषां भवति दुरितपाको दक्षिणाभिश्च रुद्धः।

XLV.17.

14. रोगाभिभूतं विषदूषितं वा यथा विनाशाभिमुखं शरीरम्।

वैद्यः प्रयोगैः सुदृढं करोति राष्ट्रं तथा शान्तिभिरग्रजन्मा॥

YY, III.23.

15. BY, XV.15; XVI.30; TY, IX.2; YY, XIII.1.

16. द्विजेन्द्रमन्त्राभिविवृद्धतेजाः।

BY, XX.2.

17. संग्रामे वयममरद्विजप्रसादा-

ज्जेष्यामो रिपुबलमाश्वसंशयेन।

BY, XXXI, 2; TY, IX.28.

18. स्वाम्यर्थगोद्विजहिते त्यजतां शरीरम्।

YY, XVI. 4.

स्वामिगोब्राह्मणार्थं त्यक्तासूनाम्।

YY, XVI.26.

19. YY, XVII.9; BY, XXXIV.8; TY, IX.33.

20. *CII*, III, p. 70, 1.6; p. 179, 11. 65-6; p. 238, 1. 25; *EI*, XV, p.307. The legend *chāturvidyasya* is found on several seals and sealings from northern India.

21. वेदमधीत्य शारीरैरापाणिग्रहणात् संस्कृतः पाकयज्ञैरपि यजन् श्रोत्रियः।

Quoted in *HDS*, II, p.131, fn. 290.

22. Cf. *Brahmabandhur*=*adhikṣeṣe*, *Amara*, III.3.104.

23. Cf. *Utpala* :—यस्य ब्राह्मणस्याष्टमाद् वर्षादारभ्य षोडशवर्षं यावदुपनयनं न कृतं स ब्राह्म्यो द्विजः।

24. The expiatory rites by which a *Vrātya* could regain his previous position consisted of three *Kṛcchras* according to *Manu* (XI.192), *Vrātyastoma* according to *Yājñavalkya* (I.38), and of *Uddālakavṛata* according to *Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra* (XI.76-9). Also see *HDS*, II, pp. 376-79; K.V.R. Aiyangar, *Aspects of the Social and Political Systems of Manusmṛiti*, pp. 109-10.

25. प्राजापत्ये शकटे भिन्ने कृत्वेव पातकं वसुधा।

केशास्थिशकलशबला कापालमिव व्रतं धत्ते॥

IX.25.

26. ब्रह्महा द्वादशाब्दानि कुटीं कृत्वा वने वसेत्।

भैक्ष्याश्यात्मविशुद्ध्यर्थं कृत्वा शवशिरोरुहम्॥

Manu, XI.72.

27. *Kṣatram tadā śāsti ca bhūtadhātṛm*.

28. *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 300, 343.

29. *Ib.*, I, p. 322; II, p. 252.

30. *Ib.*, II, pp. 250-57.

- 30a. Cf. *Manu*, IX.322.

31. *Jāti-śreṣṭha* (VIII.10), *Utpala-jātinām ye śreṣṭhāḥ pradhānāḥ; Rājanya-mukhyān* (IV.24), 'Utpala—Kṣatriya-pradhānān. Cf. *Pāda-tāditaka* (*Caturbhāṇī* edited by Motichandra), p. 156, which refers to the *Brahmaṇapīṭhikā* for deciding matters relating to their caste.
32. IX.14; XVI, 11; LXXXVIII.1; *BY*, XXXII.4.
33. i.e. union of a male of higher caste with a female of lower caste.
34. i.e. union of a man of lower caste and a woman of higher caste.
35. *Manu*, X.12; *Yājñavalkya*, I.93; *Arthaśāstra*, III.7; *Amara*, II.10.4.
36. Cf. Fa-hien (H.A. Giles, *Travels of Fa-hsien*, p. 21) :—"These (Cāṇḍālas) live away from other people; and when they approach a city or market, they beat a piece of wood, in order to distinguish themselves. Then people know who they are and avoid coming into contact with them." Also cf. जर्जरितमुखभागां वेणुलतामादाय नरपतिप्रतिबोधनार्थं सकृत्सभाकुट्टिममाजघान (चाण्डालकन्यकावर्णनम्)।

Kādambari, Pūrvabhāga, p. 20.

For a graphic picture of Cāṇḍāla habits, dress and hamlet, see *ibid.*, pp. 20-24; 686 ff.
37. Cf. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act X, where we meet two Cāṇḍālas acting as hangmen.
38. *Arthaśāstra*, III.7, p. 164; *Manu* X.8; *Yājñavalkya*, I.91.
39. Haradatta on *Gautama-smṛti*, IV.14 mentioned in *HDS*, II; p.86.
40. Cf. *BJ*, XIX.2 (*nikṛti*). Also cf. *Amara*, I.7.30 where *nikṛti* stands for deceit.
41. Cf. *Niṣādānām prāṇi-ghātakānām*, *Utpala* on v.76.
42. शूद्रायां विप्रतनये शास्त्रे पारशवो मतः, *Amara*, III.3.210.
43. *EI*, XV,P.305.
44. *Arthaśāstra*, III.7, p.165.
45. *Manu*, X.19.
46. *HDS*, II, p.97.
47. Cf. *BJ*, II.77 (*antyaja*).
48. *Amara*, II.10.19-20, identifies the Cāṇḍālas and Śvapacas.
49. *Arthaśāstra*, III.7, p. 164, *Kṣatriyasya Śūdrāyām=Ugraḥ*; *Manu*, X.9; *Amara*, II.10.2, *Śūdrā-Kṣatriyayor=Ugraḥ*.
50. For references, see *supra* Ch. II, Sect. 3; for Magas, see *supra*, pp. 13-14, 142.
51. Cf. *BJ*, XXIV.16, which states that women born in certain combinations of planets and stars will undoubtedly take to ascetic life (*pravrajyā*).
52. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, VI.3.10.5; *Manu-smṛti*, IX.106.
53. Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 2.1.10; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, II.22.6; *Manu*, IX.96.
54. *Vide HDS*, II, pp. 428-29.
55. तदर्थं धर्मार्थौ सुतविषयसौख्यानि च ततो...LXXIII.4; धर्मार्थकामाय, *VP*, 15.

56. गुणैः समस्तैरपि सम्प्रयुक्ता कन्येव यात्रा विगुणाय दत्ता ।

करोत्यकीर्तिं सुखवित्तहानिं पात्रान्तरज्ञानजडस्य दातुः ॥

YY, II.14.

57. शुक्रे विनष्टे धनदर्पितस्य विवाहयात्रेव जरार्दितस्य ।

YY, V.11

58. See LXIX.1-9 for auspicious characteristics and I.XIX.15-23; LXXVII.16-18 for inauspicious ones. Also cf. *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, III.10.16-23; *Manu*, III.4 ff.

59. LXIX.1.

60. VP, 64.

61. *Ib.*, 10, 13; YY, II.14.

62. VP, 8, 20.

63. Mālavikā in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Śakuntalā in the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala*, Mālātī in the *Mālātī-Mādhava* and Rājyaśrī in the *Harṣa-carita* may be named in this connection.

64. Cf. *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra*, XVII.18; *Manu-smṛiti*, IX.94; *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra*, IV.1.12; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, III.10.16. Also cf. *HDS* II, pp. 439-446; A.S. Altekar, *Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 49 ff.

Varāhamihira mentions *vr̥ṣalī-pati* as the recipient of *dakṣiṇā* at the propitiation of Saturn (*BY*, XVIII.18-20). Parāśara defines *vr̥ṣalī-pati* as a Brāhmaṇa marrying a woman who has attained puberty (*Parāśara-smṛiti*, VII.8-9). Varāhamihira does not seem to have employed the word in its technical sense. It may refer to the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa with a Śūdra woman.

65. The lowering of the marriageable age of girls was accelerated, among other things, by the desire to maintain absolute physical chastity of women and to avoid even their theoretical enjoyment by the divine husbands, Soma, Gandharva and Agni, cf. *Samvarta*, verses 64, 67; *HDS*, II, p. 443; Altekar, *Position of Women*, pp. 57-58. Varāhamihira refers to this myth in slightly different words :—

सोमस्तासामदाच्छौचं गन्धर्वः शिक्षितां गिरम् ।

अग्निश्च सर्वभक्षित्वं तस्मान्निष्कसमाः स्त्रियः ॥

LXXIII.7.

66. Cf. *On Yuan Chwang* (I, 168) :—“The members of a caste marry within the caste, the great and the obscure keeping apart.”

67. *Supra*, Ch. IV, Section I.

68. *EI*, VIII, p. 24. Haricandra, the Brāhmaṇa upstart of the Pratihāra dynasty, married a Kṣatriya lady, Bhadrā, cf. *EI*, XVIII, p. 95, text, 1.3. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Agnimitra, son of Brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra, is seen marrying the Kṣatriya princess Mālavikā. Also see *supra* Ch. IV, section I, under Parāśava.

69. कृतकौतुकमंगलो वरो मधुपर्काद्यशनादनन्तरम् ॥

ज्वलिताग्निसमक्षमंगनां यदि वाप्नोति शुभाशर्भं ततः ॥

VP, 96.

70. परिहासस्मेरमुखीभिश्च नारीभिः कौतुकगृहे यद् यत् कार्यते जामाता तत् तत् सर्वमतिपेशलश्चकार कृतपरिणयानुरूपवेशपरिग्रहो गृहीत्वा करे वधूं निर्जगाम।
71. V.S. Agrawala, *Harṣacarita, A Cultural Study* (Hindi), p. 83.
72. *HDS*, II, p.527.
73. देशाचारस्तावदादौ विचिन्त्यो
देशे देशे या स्थितिः सैव कार्या।
लोकद्विष्टं पण्डिता वर्जयन्ति
दैवज्ञोऽतो लोकमार्गेण यायात्॥

VP, 79

A master diviner as he was, Varāhamihira naturally stresses astrological factors in selecting an auspicious moment for connubial rites. As these considerations have an important bearing on the then practices, we may set them out here. 'Marriage', says our author, 'should be celebrated in the constellations Rohiṇī, the three Uttarās (i.e. Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttarabhadrapadā, Uttaraphalgunī), Revatī, Mṛgaśīras, Mūla, Anurādhā, Maghā, Hasta and Svātī; when the signs Kanyā, Tūla, or Mithuna are in the rising; when the benefics are in the *bhavas* other than the 7th, 8th and 12th; when the moon is in the 2nd, 3rd or 11th house from the *lagna*; when the malefics are in the 3rd, 6th, 8th or 11th house; when Venus is not in the 6th house and Mars in the 8th; when the moon does not come into conjunction with the Sun, Mars, Saturn or Venus and is not hemmed in between the malefics; on a day free from Vyatipāta, Vaidhṛti or Viṣṭi; on a *tithi* other than the 4th, 9th and 14th; on a day presided over by a benefic planet; in the northern solstice; in a month other than Pauṣa and Caitra; and when the rising Navāmsā is occupied by a biped sign. It must also be ascertained that the Rāśis of the bride and bridegroom are not 2nd and 12th, 5th and 7th, and 6th and 8th from each other and that the sun and the moon for the bridegroom and bride respectively are favourable (XCIX.7-8). The good or bad result of the constellation in which a marriage is solemnised is said to accrue in as many years as the stars constituting it number (XCVII.3). We know from the *VP*, 17-23, that ancient writers differed as to which among the year, solstice, season, month, fortnight, *tithi*, asterisms, *lagna* and *karana* is the most important for marriage. We are further told that in this matter various customs prevailed in different regions, and special mention is made of those in vogue in the south, Mālava, Māṇḍavya, Vaṅga, Tuṣāraka, and among the Khaśas, Hūṇas, Mālakas, Bhekṣāṇas, Gopas and the easterners (*ib.*, 80-89). Evening twilight was considered especially auspicious for connubium (*ib.*, 90-93). That these rules were actually followed in practice is evidenced by numerous references. The *Baudhāyana-gr̥hya sūtra* (I.1.20) names Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Uttaraphalgunī and Svātī as *nakṣatras* of marriage. The *Āśvalāyana Gr̥. S.* I.4.1 states that marriage should be held in northern solstice and an auspicious *nakṣatra*. According to the *Āpastamba Gr̥. S.* III.3, one desirous of making his daughter dear to her husband should give her in marriage in Niṣṭyā, (Svātī). The wedding of the four sons of Daśaratha is said to have taken place in Uttaraphalgunī (*Rāmāyaṇa*, I.71.24;

- I.72.13. For a different interpretation, *vide* Tilaka, Śiromaṇi and Bhūsaṇa commentaries). The marriage of Ruru and Pramadvarā also took place in Uttaraphalgunī (*Mahābhārata*, Ādi, VIII.16). Also cf. *HDS*, II, pp.511-515.
74. Cf. *yasya pramadāḥ prabhūtāḥ*, LXXV.5.
75. विपरीताङ्गना भर्तुरयादन्यत् प्रकल्पयेत्।
VP, 44.
76. Cf. *YY*, V.12, 34 where a woman of loose character is mentioned with scorn.
77. भङ्क्त्वा काण्डं पादपस्योप्तमूर्त्या बीजं वास्यां नान्यतामेति यद्वत्।
एवं ह्यात्मा जायते स्त्रीषु भूयः कश्चित् तस्मिन् क्षेत्रयोगाद् विशेषः॥
LXXIV.2.
78. Utpala adds special food, drinks, etc.
79. भिक्षुणिका प्रव्रजिता दासी धात्री कुमारिका रजिका।
मालाकारी दुष्टाङ्गना सखी नापिती दूत्यः॥
कुलजनविनाशहेतुर्दूत्यो यस्मादतः प्रयत्नेन।
ताभ्यः स्त्रियोऽभिरक्ष्या वंशयशोमानवृद्ध्यर्थम्॥
LXXVII.9-10.
80. Cf. Śaṅkha cited by Vijñāneśvara on *Yājñavalkya*, I.87 and by Aparārka on *Yājñavalkya* I.83. *HDS*, II, p. 564, fn.1311. cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I.10.7-8; I.20.18; V.1.19,50; V.2.52; *Padma-prābhṛtaka* (*Caturbhāṇī* edited by Motichandra), pp.29-30, 32 ff.; *Ubhayābhisārikā* (*ibid.*), pp.129-33.
81. रात्रीविहारजागरोगव्यपदेशगृहेक्षणाः।
व्यसनोत्सवाश्च सङ्केतहेतवस्तेषु रक्ष्याश्च॥ LXXVII.9-10.
Cf. *Kāmasūtra*, IV.4.41; V.2.6.
82. पुरुषश्चटुलानि कामिनीनां कुरुते यानि रहो न तानि पश्चात्।
सुकृतज्ञतयाङ्गना गतासूनवगूह्य प्रविशन्ति सप्तजिह्वम्॥ LXXIII.16.
Cf. शुक्रनीति, IV.4.29.
83. H. Chakladar, *Social Life in Ancient India*, pp.129-30.
84. *Kumāra-Sambhava*, IV.21-2, 33-6, 45.
85. *Yad=etad=anvamarāṇaṁ nāma tad=atinisphalam*, *Kādambarī*, Pūrva-bhāga, In *Harṣacarita* (V) we see Yaśomatī burning herself before her husband's death because she wanted to die as unwidowed.
86. *CII*, III, p.93, 1.7.
87. *IA*, IX (1880), p.164, 1.7; pp.165-6, verse 8.
88. बहिलोम्ना तु षण्मासान् वेष्टितः खरचर्मणा।
दारातिक्रमणे भिक्षां देहीत्युक्त्वा विशुद्ध्यति॥
LXXIII.13.

The reading in the printed editions is *dārātikramaṇe*, which it is proposed to change into *dārātikramiṇe* for the sake of better meaning. It would then also accord with

- the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* passage (quoted below) on which our verse is based.
89. दारव्यतिक्रमी खराजिनं बहिलोम परिधाय दारव्यतिक्रमिणो भिक्षामिति सप्तागाराणि चरेत्, सा वृत्तिः षण्मासान्।
Āpastamba-dharmasūtra, I.28.19.
90. LXXXV.79; VP, 33, 49, 59, etc.
91. e.g., *Manu*, V.162; VIII.226; IX.47, 65.
92. *Punarbhū* is variously defined in different works. Utpala takes it to mean a remarried woman whose first marriage was not consummated : *akṣata-yonitvād=yā punar=ūhyate sā punarbhūh* (on XXXI.3). Vātsyāyana, who does not contemplate a second marriage for women, defines *punarbhū* as a widow, who being of weak character and unable to control her desires, associates herself with a man seeking pleasure and desirable on account of his excellent qualities (IV.2.39).
93. LII.70; VP, 34, 69.
94. The whole of the chapter LXXIII styled *Strī-praśamsādhya* contains interesting remarks on womanhood.
95. Pāṇini makes similar distinction, *vide* V.S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p.101.
96. XV.9; XVI.19; XL.8; XLI.5.
97. For detailed account of foodgrains, see *infra* Ch. V, Section I.
98. X.8; XV.9, 25; XVI.7; XXVIII.4; XL.6; LIII.122; LXXV.11, etc.
99. XVI.24; L.32.
100. L.15; LXXVI.32,33.
101. According to Utpala, the chapter containing this verse is spurious.
102. L.31; LIV.7; CIV.8; XVII.23; XXXIV.4, etc.
103. Cf. XIX.5; XXXII.29. XLIV.7; XLV.6;
104. IX.45; XXX.18; XLII.60; XLIV.6; XLVII.35; LVIII.8; LXXVIII.7. LXXX. 5; LXXXVI.14; XCII.8; LXXXV.45; XCIV.22.
105. *Amara*, II.9.53; *Takraṁ Pāda-jalaṁ proktam*, *Caraka*, Vol. VI, p. 337.
106. *Suśruta*, *Sūtrasthāna*, XLV.85. According to Hemādri, the commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, *takra* denotes churned curds :—*mathitam dadhi takram*, *Caraka*, Vol. VI, p. 345.
107. *Suśruta*, *Sūtrasthāna*, XLV.86; *Amara*, II.9.53.
108. *Amara*, II.9.52.
109. V.60; XVI.19; XLI.5; XLIX.21; LIII.108; LIV.7; LXXV.9; XCVI.10, etc.
110. XLVII.32; L.37; LVIII.12; LXXV.6; etc.
111. XLIX.23.

112. XLVII.50; LXXV.8. Great sanctity was attached to *ghee* and it was used in ceremonial bath—

आज्यं तेजः समुद्दिष्टमाज्यं पापहरं परम् ।
आज्यं सुराणामाहार आज्ये लोकाः प्रतिष्ठिताः ॥
भौमान्तरिक्षं दिव्यं वा यत्ते कल्मषमागतम् ।
सर्वं तदाज्यसंस्पर्शात् प्रणाशमुपगच्छतु ॥

XLVII.52-3.

113. Cf. क्षीरमेव निर्मध्यं यद् घृतमुत्पाद्यते तत् पयोघृतम्

Utpala on LXXV.4.

114. V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 109.

115. V.60; XLI.5; XLIII.11; XLV.27; L.37; LVIII.12; LXXV.3; LXXVI.11, 27, 32.

116. Cf. Dalhaṇa's commentary on *Suśruta*, I.XLV.133.

- 116a. X.8; XVI.13; XL.4; XLII.38; LXXXVIII.1.

117. Cf. Utpala—*ikṣu-rasa-kvāthaḥ kṣudra-guḍādiḥ; Cakrapāṇidatta—guḍasya tantulābhāvād= bhavati, kṣudraguḍābhūta ikṣurasah.*

118. Cf. Utpala on XLVII.31.

119. Monnier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 375.

120. Also cf. YY, VI.18.

121. *Palalam=ardha-niṣpīditās=tilāḥ*, Utpala on LVIII.8.

122. XLII.38; XLIII.11; XLV.32; XLVII.36; YY, VI.19; BY, XV.2.

123. XII.16; XLV.64; LVIII.8; XCIV.23.

124. *Pūpo mudga-kṛto miśrito vā taṇḍulena saha*, Utpala on XLII.38.

125. On L.31.

126. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 106.

127. BY, IV.24-7. Cf. YY, VII.18.

128. YY, VII.19; BY, IV.24-7.

129. *Caraka*, Vol. VI, p. 342.

130. *Ibid.*

131. Kern (*JRAS*, 1873, p. 328, fn.2) vaguely takes it to be 'a sort of sweet-meat'.

132. For references, see *infra* Ch. V, Section I.

133. XV.7; XL.4; XLI.12.

134. XL.7; XL.6; XLI.12; V.77; VIII.19; IX.35; XIII.11; XV.17; XLVII.28.

135. For the meaning of *kṣāra-śāka*, see Utpala on LXXV.12.

136. Cf. XV.2; LXXXVI.10; XCIV.22.

137. Cf. XVI.34, where eaters of the flesh of a jackal (*gomāyu-bhakṣa*) are mentioned. A preparation of blood called *rudhira-vilāpana-pāyasa* is mentioned in YY, VII.17.

138. *Rasa* X.8. *madya* XVI.13; XLVII.30; LVIII.8; LXXV.11; YY. II.4; *madhu* XIX.19; LXXV.2. *mādhvika* L.5. *āsava* XLVII.28; XCIV.22; BY, XV.2; VP, 13. *madirā* YY, V.12. According to Kautilya (*Arthaśāstra*, II.25, p. 120), 100 *palas* of *kapittha* (*Feronia Elephantum*), 500 *palas* of *phāṇita*, and one *prastha* of honey constitute *āsava*. *Madhu*, according to the same authority, is the juice of grapes (*ibid*).
139. For references, see *infra* Ch. V, Section 3.
140. शयनगृहासनाशनयुतस्य चानुकुरुते समदविलासिनीमुखसरोजपट्चरणताम्,
CIII.32.
Cf. YY, V.12, where excessive drinking by women is censured—मदिरामुदिता मदनाकुलिता प्रमदेव कुलं परवेश्मरता।
141. For references to this practice see *Dhūrtaviṣa-saṁvāda* (*Śṛṅgārahāṭa* edited by Motichandra and V.S. Agrawala), pp. 71-72, 88, *Pādatāḍitaka*, verse 106; *Nāgānanda*, III.2; *Gāthāsaptasatī*, 535. Vide also my paper in *JOIB*, XIV, pp. 123-24.
142. V.41; X.3; XV.26; XXXIII.11; CIII.61; YY, III.23.
143. XVI.17. Utpala takes it to mean experts in chemicals and erotic remedies—*āyuso hitam=āyusyaṁ rasāyana-vājīkaraṇ-ādi*.
144. V.80; VII.6; IX.32, 43; X.9, 16, 17, XV.7, 17; CIII.61, 62.
145. XLIII.13.
146. V.80.
147. XVI.19.
148. LXXXV.32.
149. Utpala takes it to mean an eye-specialist (*akṣi-roga-cikitsaka*).
150. (i) wind—IX.40 (*marud-gada*); LXXXVI.II (*vāta-rogi*); LXXXVI.37 (*vāyu-grasta*); BY, V.1 (*anilaja-roga*); XI.25 (*anila-jvara*); BJ, XXIII.13 (*saṁsrṣṭaḥ pavanena*). For allusion to foodgrains causing wind, cf. XV.13; XVI.33.
(ii) bile—IX.43 (*pittaja-kāmala*); XIX.9 (*pittottha-ruj*); BY, V.2 (*pitta-ruj*); VIII.13 (*pitta...piḍā*). Also cf. CIII.11, 18.
(iii) phlegm—VIII.28 (*śleṣma-kṛta-roga*); CIII.61 (*ślaiṣmika dravya*); BY, V. 1 (*kaphaja roga*).
151. सौरोर्करश्मियोगात् सविकारो लब्धवृद्धिरधिकतरम्।
पित्तवदाचरति नृणां पथ्यकृतां न तु तथार्याणाम्॥
CIII.55.
152. All the references to diseases in this section are from astrological contexts.
153. तेषां पुनर्व्यापदोऽदृष्टकारिताः, शीतोष्णवातवर्षाणि खलु विपरीतानि ओषधीर्व्यापादयन्त्यपश्च, तासामुपयोगाद् विविधरोगप्रादुर्भावो मरको वा भवेदिति। तत्राव्यापन्नानामोषधीनां चोपभोगः।

Suśruta, Sūtrasthāna, VI.16-8.

154. V.72; VI.2; VII.2; IX.18, 23, 43; VIII.32, 34; XI.31; 36, 48; XII.19; XXXIX.7; XXXII.18; XLII.27; XLIV.8; XLV.27, 38, 39; XLVI.5; LIX.6; LXXI.5; LXXVI.35; LXXVIII.11,36; LXXXI.6; XCI.1; XCIV.5; C.4; CII.5.
155. V.82; XIX.9; XXXVII.13 (var.); LII.60; LXXXVIII.6; CIII.7.
156. IV.29; VII.7; VIII.42; V.51.
157. V.56; VIII.4, 17; IX.33, 44; XXIX.12; XXXIV.15; XXXV.5; XXXVII.2; XLV.25; L.14; LXXXVIII.5, 24; CII.7.
158. VIII.51; IX.40, 42; XII.17; XVI.40; XLV.60; XVIC.40.
159. LVII.50.
160. CIII.5.
161. VIII.15; XXIX.11; XLIX.22; LXXVIII.21; LXXXIV.5; LXXXVIII.10; CII.13.
162. XCIX.5; LXXV.5.
163. XV.17; XVI.5; XIX.1.
164. It is mentioned in the *R̥gveda*. In the medical Samhitās, it probably denotes *angina pectoris*, cf. *Vedic Index*, II, p.507. It may be the same as *Hṛd-yota* of the *Atharvaveda*.
165. It may also denote abdominal affections.
166. Jolly, *Indian Medicine*, p.128.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
168. *Ibid.*
169. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-48.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
171. V.27; XI.12, 29, 30, 31; XII.21; XXXV.4; XLV.79; LXXVIII.24.
172. III.31.
173. LXXXVI.33.
174. These remedies were also known as *vr̥sya* (CIII.63) and *vājīkaraṇa*.
175. e.g. *Suśruta*, IV.26; *Caraka*, Cikitsā, Ch.ii. Cf. *Kāmasūtra*, VII.1.
176. *Manu*, III.219.
177. *Kaṇḍī* according to some.
178. For a list of these herbs, see XLVII.39-42. Cf. *Caraka*, IV.8.5. *Suśruta*, III.2.25.
179. Cf. *Suśruta*, III.2.3-17.
180. *Ibid.*, III.2.28-30; *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, II.1.27 f.
181. *Indian Medicine*, p. 74.
182. Cf. *Manu*, III.48.
183. For astrological factors favouring the birth of a son, see LXXVII. 25; *BJ*, IX.11.
184. Cf. *Caraka*, IV.2, 28f.

185. *Chāga-loma-tantu-kṛtaṃ vastram*, Utpala on XL.2. *Kullūka* (on *Manu*, V.120) explains *kūṭapa* as *Nēpala-kambala*.
186. Also cf. *BY*, XVII.8.
187. *Arthaśāstra*, II.11, p.80.
188. *Harṣacarita*, VII; V.S. Agrawala, *Harṣa-carita*, A Cultural Study, p.168; *NPP*, LVII, No.4, pp.311-12.
189. According to the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, however, *dukūla* cloths were made from the cotton produced in Gauḍa. Cf. J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons*, p.128, fn. 71. As for the etymology of the word *dukūla*, V.S. Agrawala (*NPP*, LVII, No. 4, p. 313) suggests that the word *kula* in primitive language probably signified cloth and as it came to the market in two folds it was called *dukūla*.
190. *Arthaśāstra*, II.11, p. 80. *Amarakoṣa*, II. 6. 113, however, takes *kṣauma* and *dukūla* to be synonymous.
191. According to the commentary on the *Arthaśāstra*, *kaūṣeya* was the cloth made from the silk produced in the Kośakāra country. And as according to McCrindle, raw silk was 'manufactured at Kos, Motichandra suggests that *Kaūṣeya* refers to the town of Kos and not to the cocoons. See Motichandra, *Prācīna Bhāratiya Veśa-bhūṣā*, p.56; *BV*, I, No.1, p.46 f.
192. On XVI.29.
193. According to the commentator of the *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, *paṭṭa* cloth was produced 'from the insects that gathered round the flesh stored for the purpose in the jungle'. Cf. J.C. Jain, *op.cit.*, p. 129, fn. 72.
194. *Ibid.*
195. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 80-81.
196. लकुचवटादिपत्रेषु कृमिलालोर्णाकृतं पत्रोर्णम्।
197. मेखला वस्त्रस्योपरि बध्यते, नीवीति लोकप्रसिद्धा। तथा च। नीविराग्रन्यने नार्या जघनस्थस्य वासस-इति।
198. Verse 14 is not found in S. Divedi's edition. For astrological beliefs regarding the wearing of new cloths, see *infra* Ch. VI.
199. XLVII.74; LVII.29; LIX.14; LXXXVI.8, etc.
200. XIX.16; L.19; YY, II.26; IV.19; VI.24; *BY*, XV.12.
201. XLII.41,43; XLVII.33; LI.3,5; LVII.29; LXVII.112; LXXVI.1; XCVII.10, etc.
202. XVI.29; XLII.49; LXXVII.3.
203. Cf. XIX.16; LXXIII.1. Also cf. LXXIII.2 which says that damsels impart beauty to jewels and are not adorned by the grace of the latter and that ladies captivate men's hearts even without jewels but the latter cannot do so unless they come into contact with the limbs of women.
204. Cf. LXXVI.1; C. 1; CIII.33.
205. B.S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 202; V.S. Agrawala, *Harṣacarita*, p. 168; *Kādambārī*, A Cultural Study (Hindi), p.186.

206. Cf. *Amarakoṣa*, III.3.227 and Utpala's comm. on XII.6 and LV.6 where *uttamsaka* is explained as *śīro-mālā* and *karna-puṣpāṇi muṇḍa-mālā vā* respectively.
207. Cf. XII.1 which represents gods as wearing *mukuta*.
208. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p.29, Pl. IV, figs. 20, 21.
209. *Ibid.*
210. विस्तरशो निर्दिष्टं पट्टानां लक्षणं यदाचार्यैः ।
तत्संक्षेपः क्रियते मयाऽत्र सकलार्थसम्पन्नः ॥
पट्टः शुभदो राज्ञां मध्येऽष्टावङ्गुलानि विस्तीर्णः ।
सप्त नरेन्द्रमहिष्याः षड् युवराजस्य निर्दिष्टः ॥
चतुरङ्गुलविस्तारः पट्टः सेनापतेर्भवति मध्ये ।
द्वे च प्रसादपट्टः पञ्चैते कीर्तिताः पट्टाः ॥
सर्वे द्विगुणायामा मध्यादर्धेन पार्श्वविस्तीर्णाः ।
सर्वे च शुद्धकाञ्चनविनिर्मिताः श्रेयसो वृद्धयै ॥
पञ्चशिखो भूमिपतेस्त्रिशिखो युवराजपार्थिवमहिष्योः ।
एकशिखः सैन्यपतेः प्रसादपट्टो विना शिखया ॥
211. क्रियमाणं यदि पत्रं सुखेन विस्तारमेति पट्टस्य ।
वृद्धिजयौ भूमिपतेस्तथा प्रजानां च सुखसम्पत् ।
जीवितराज्यविनाशं करोति मध्ये व्रणः समुत्पन्नः ।
मध्ये स्फुटितस्त्याज्यो विघ्नरः पार्श्वयोः स्फुटितः ॥
अशुभनिमित्तोत्पत्तौ शास्त्रज्ञः शान्तिमादिशेद्वाज्ञः ।
शस्तनिमित्तः पट्टो नृपराष्ट्रविवृद्धये भवति ॥

XLVIII.6-8.

212. *Harṣacarita*, V. p.231. The feudatories assembled in Harṣa's camp wore *karnotpālas* whose stems were held by *uṣṇīṣa-paṭṭas*. Cf. *ibid.*, VII, pp. 279-80.
213. e.g., IV.32; XLII.32. Cf. *Amarakoṣa*, II.6.105.
214. Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 76.
215. *Ibid.*
216. Cf. *Catuspāñcāśad=raśmikalāpaḥ*, *Arthaśāstra*, p. 76.
217. Cf. *Dvātrimśad=gucchaḥ*, *Arthaśāstra*, II.11, p. 76 & *Dvātrimśat=latiko gucchaḥ*, Bhānuji Dikṣita on *Amarakoṣa*, II.6.105.
218. Cf. Bhānuji Dikṣita on *Amara*, II.6.105—*Caturvimśati-yaṣṭiko hāro gutsārdhaḥ*.
219. It is also referred to in *Amara*, II.6.106, and a verse cited by Bhānuji gives the number of strings as twenty—*Vimśati-yaṣṭiko hāro māṇavaḥ paṅkīrtitaḥ*.
220. According to Kautilya, the *māṇavaka* necklace with a gem at the centre bore the name of that gem with the word *māṇavaka* suffixed to it—*tato=rdham=ardhamāṇavakaḥ, eta eva maṇimadhyā=tan=māṇavakā bhavanti*, *Arthaśāstra*, II.11, p. 76.

221. It is different from Kauṭilya's *phalakahāra* which has three or five plaques (*phalakas*). Cf. *MA SI*, No. 73, p. 57.
222. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part I, Pls. XXXIII, XXXVII; Part II, Pl. X(a).
223. *Saptāvīmśati-muktā-hasto nakṣatramāl—eti*, LXXX.34; *S=aiva nakṣatra-mālā syāt saptāvīmśati-mauktikaiḥ*, *Amara*, II.6.106. In a jewellery deposit at Taxila dating from Parthian times is included a gold necklace of 27 pieces. At either end is a terminal inlaid with lapis lazuli and white paste, of which fragments still adhere. Other pieces are inlaid alternately with rock crystal cut *en cabouchon* and white and blue paste—blue in centre and at base and white in the four 'comma' leaves. Cf. *ASI, AR*, 1924-25, p. 49, Pl. XI.2. Though not composed of pearls, it may be identified with our *nakṣatra-mālā*. (Fig. 27.)
224. Cf. *Hima-śilā-śakalamayena vibhrama-nakṣatramālā-guṇena śiśirī-kriyamāṇam; Nakṣatramālā-maṇḍita-mukhīm kariṇīm*, *Harṣa-carita*, II & IV, pp. 105, 205; *Kādambarī*, pp. 18, 192, 213, 415.
225. In XIII.1, the northern quarter with the Saptarṣis (Great Bear) is compared with a lady decked with *ekāvalī* and a garland of lotus flowers.
226. *Sūtram=ekāvalī śuddhā*, *Arthaśāstra*, p. 76; *ekāvaly=ekayaṣṭikā*, *Amara*, II.6.106.
227. C. Sivaramamurti, *MA SI*, No. 73, pp. 57-8; V.S. Agrawala, *Harṣa-carita*, p. 198.
228. *Raghuvamśa*, XIII.54; *Meghadūta*, I.46. Also cf. *Raghuvamśa*, XVI.19. In *Raghuvamśa*, XIV.48, Kālidāsa describes the river Mandākinī flowing at the foot of a hill as a *muktāvalī* (the same as *ekāvalī*) round the earth's neck.
229. *Harṣa-carita*, IV, p. 192—*Yayā dvayoh sutayor=upari stanayor=iv-aikāvali-latayā nitarām=arājata janani*.
230. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part I, Pls. XXIV-XXV; Part II, Pl. XIa, etc.
231. Cf. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Arch. Museum at Mathura*, Pls., X, XII, XVb.
232. Of variegated colours and made of peacock-feathers.
233. Decked with multi-coloured gems and diamonds.
234. It was worn in the *upavīta* fashion and fastened to the neck in such a manner that it fell on the breasts (*Amara*, II.6.36). Cf. *Pādatāḍitaka*, verse 45. A Yakṣī from Amaravati (Sātavāhana period), now in Madras Govt. Museum, is shown wearing a *haimakakṣya* (*MA SI*, 73, p. 51, fig. 7). It is very common at Ajanta.
235. According to a verse cited by Bhānuji on *Amara*, II.6.108-09, a girdle with 1 string was called *kāñṇā*; with 8 strings, *mekhalā*; with 16 strands, *raśanā* and that with 25 cords, *kalāpa*—
एका यष्टिर्भवेत् काञ्ची मेखला त्वष्टयष्टिका।
रशना षोडश ज्ञेयाः कलापः पञ्चविंशकः॥
236. प्रायेण सूत्रेण विनाकृतानि प्रकाशरन्ध्राणि चिरन्तनानि।
रत्नानि शास्त्राणि च योजितानि नवैर्गुणैर्भूषयितुं क्षमाणि॥

CIII.1.

For some other details, see *infra* Ch. V, Section 5.

237. हस्तद्वयोन्नतः शुक्लः सुवर्णबलिभूषितः।
हीरेणालंकृतो राज्ञां भव्यमानसुखप्रदः॥

Quoted in *Śabdakalpādruma*, p.342.

238. Cf. III.18; XVI.23; XLIII.24; LXIX.10.

239. Cf. III.18; XVI.23; XLII.63; XLIII.27; LXVII.45; LXIX.10.

240. Cf. Yazdani, *Ajanta* Part IV, Pls. XLVII, LV, LVII-LVIII, LXIV, etc.

241. Cf. *infra*, Ch. VI; for description of Vāmanaka, Kubja and Sācin types of royal attendants, LXVIII.31-40.

242. Cf. XLII.7, 57 (at Indramaha, an umbrella was held over Indra's banner); XLV.31 (over a tree at a *sānti* to expiate any unnatural occurrence in it); XLVII.73 (worshipped after *Puṣyasnāna*); XLIX.2 & LXXVIII.21 (its mark on a sword and elephant's tusk regarded auspicious).

243. Cf. *Gandhayuktijñā bahubhir=dravyair=miśritair=viśiṣṭataram sugandhadravyaṃ ye utpādayanti*, Utpala on XV.12. Śūdraka (*Mṛcchakaṭika*, VIII.13) employs *gandhayukti* to denote a cosmetic preparation made by combining certain fragrant substances and meant to sweeten the speech.

244. This definition of *bodha* is based on the following distich cited by Utpala (on LXXVI.11) from Iśvara's Prakrit work *Gandhayukti*—

ओल्लमि ओल्लओ जो दिज्जइ वेह इति सो भणिओ।

वोहो उण जो चुण्णो चुण्णविणि अच्छगन्धो सो॥

Its Sanskrit rendering given by Sudhakara Dvivedi is as follows :—

आर्द्रं आर्द्रं यो दीयते वेध इति स भणितः।

बोधः पुनर्यश्चूर्णश्चूर्णिति अच्छगन्धः सः॥

For a discussion on *bodha* and *vedha* and the identification of Iśvara with Lokeśvara mentioned in Padmaśrī's *Nāgarasauvasva* IV.2, see my paper in *ABORI*, XL, pp. 380-82.

245. पाकवेधगन्धधूपनानि लोकतो ज्ञेयानि। आचार्येण नोक्तानि।

on LXXVI.4;

द्रव्यसंस्कार-पाक-वेध-गन्ध-धूपनादिकं नोक्तम्। एतत् तज्ज्ञेय्य उपलभ्य कार्यमिति।

on LXXVI.22.

246. Cf. *Agni-purāṇa*, CCXXIV.20-21 which gives the following eight processes—

शौचमाचमनं राम तथैव च विरेचनम्।

भावनं चैव पाकश्च बोधनं धूपनं तथा॥

वासनं चैव निर्दिष्टं कर्माष्टकमिदं स्मृतम्।

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, II.64.178 has the same eight processes save the replacement of *śauca* and *ācamana* by *śodhana* and *vāsana*. Gaṅgādharma's *Gandhasāra* mentions six processes—

भावनं पाचनं बोधो वेधो धूपनवासने।

एवं षडत्र कर्माणि द्रव्येषूक्तानि कोविदैः॥

247. LXXVI.5-6 are borrowed *ad verbatim* by Gaṅgādhara in his *Gandhasāra*, but without naming the source. Cf. P.K. Gode in *BV*, 1945, p. 150, note.

248. तैलं निपीडितं राम तिलैः पुष्पाधिवासितैः।

वासनात् तत्पुष्पसदृशं गंधेन तु भवेद् ध्रुवम्॥

Agni-purāṇa, CCXXIV.33.

249. रोधोशीरनतागुरुमुस्तापत्रप्रियंगुवनपथ्याः।

नवकोष्ठात्कच्छपुटाद् द्रव्यत्रितयं समुद्धृत्य॥

चन्दनतुरुष्कभागौ शुक्त्यर्धं पादिका तु शतपुष्पा।

कटुहिङ्गुलगुडधूप्याः केसरगन्धाश्चतुरशीतिः॥

LXXVI.29-30.

250.

<i>rodhra</i>	<i>uśīra</i>	<i>nata</i>
<i>aguru</i>	<i>mustā</i>	<i>pattra</i>
<i>priyangu</i>	<i>vana</i>	<i>pathyā</i>

Borrowed from Utpala's gloss.

9		
8	36	
7	28	84
6	21	56
5	15	35
4	10	20
3	6	10
2	3	4
1	1	1

Borrowed from *BS*, II, p. 957, note 1.

251. द्वित्रीन्द्रियाष्टभागैरगुरुः पत्रं तुरुष्कशैलेयो।

विषयाष्टपक्षदहनाः प्रियंगुमुस्तारसाः केशः॥

स्पृक्कात्वक्तगराणां मांस्याश्च कृतैकसप्तषड्भागाः।

सप्ततुर्वेदचन्द्रैर्मलयनखश्रीककुन्दुरुकाः॥

षोडशके कच्छपुटे यथा मिश्रिते चतुर्द्रव्ये।

येऽत्राष्टादश भागास्तेऽस्मिन् गन्धादयो योगाः॥

नखतगरतुरुष्कयुता जातीकपूरमृगकृतोद्बोधाः।

गुडनखधूप्या गन्धाः कर्तव्याः सर्वतोभद्राः॥

LXXVI.23-26.

Cf. Utpala (on LXXVI.26-7)—तस्माद् यतस्ततो गृह्यमाणा अष्टादश भागा भवन्ति अतः सर्वतोभद्रसंज्ञाः।

252.

<i>aguru</i> 2	<i>pattra</i> 3	<i>turuṣka</i> 5	<i>śaileya</i> 8
<i>priyangu</i> 5	<i>mustā</i> 8	<i>rasa</i> 2	<i>keśa</i> 3
<i>spṛkkā</i> 4	<i>tvak</i> 1	<i>tagara</i> 7	<i>māmsī</i> 6
<i>malaya</i> 7	<i>nakha</i> 6	<i>śrīka</i> 4	<i>kunduruka</i> 1

Borrowed from Utpala's gloss on LXXVI.23-4.

253. शतपुष्पाकुन्दुरुकौ पादेनार्धेन नखतुरुष्कौ च ।
मलयप्रियंगुभागौ गन्धो धूप्यो गुडनखेन ॥

LXXVI.8.

Cf. Utpala—*Yatra yatra gandho dhūpyate tatr-ādāv=eva haritakyā dhūpyaḥ paścād=ukta-dravyeṇ=ety=āgama-vidāḥ prāhuḥ.*

254. *Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, p. 144, verses 1697b—1701a.

255. Cf. Utpala—*Evam pratyekasya dravyasya bhāga-parikalpanay—āṣṭau dhūpā bhavanti.*
Combination of these constituents in all possible orders gives the total number 362880, as worked out by V.S. Sastry in his edition of *BS*, p. 605.

256. Cf.

16			
15	120		
14	105	560	
13	91	455	1820
12	78	364	1365
11	66	286	1001
10	55	220	715
9	45	165	495
8	36	120	330
7	28	84	210
6	21	56	126
5	15	35	70
4	10	20	35
3	6	10	15
2	3	4	5
1	1	1	1

Borrowed from
comm. on LXXVI.22.

257. Cf. Utpala's gloss on LXXVI.21.

258. Cf.

<i>ghana</i>	<i>vālaka</i>	<i>śaileya</i>	<i>karpūra</i>
<i>uśīra</i>	<i>nāgapuṣpa</i>	<i>vyaghra-nakha</i>	<i>śprkkā</i>
<i>aguru</i>	<i>madanaka</i>	<i>nakha</i>	<i>tagara</i>
<i>dhānya</i>	<i>karpūra</i>	<i>cola</i>	<i>malaya</i>

Borrowed from
Utpala.

259. Cf. Utpala—*Etau dvau dvi-try=ādibhir=bhāgaiḥ prāptāu=api na deyau...yatas=tad.=utkaṭatvād=anya-dravyāṇām gandha-hānir=bhavati.*

260. It is clear from Utpala's rendering of *Putā-vāsa* by *aṅgoddhūlana*.

261. A woman with prematurely grey hair is disapproved for sex relations (LXXVII.17).

262. *Kāñjika* according to Utpala.

263. *Atra dravyāṇāṃ sarveṣāṃ prāyaḥ kāñjikaṇa kṣālanāṃ nirmalena keṣāñcij=jalena keṣāñcid go-mūtreṇa nakha-tila-tailen-ā yasa-bhāṇḍe paeet mṛdu=agninā*, Utpala on LXXVI.4.

264. X.1-27. Edited by Kaviraj Balwant Singh Mohan, Lahore, 1925. The text is quoted and ingredients are catalogued by P. K. Gode in *BV*, XI (1950), pp. 40-45.

265. Varāhamihira disapproves such a woman for sexual intercourse, LXXVII.17.

266. Cf. *Kumāra-sambhava*, VII.14; *Meghadūta*, I.32; *Rtu-samhāra*, I.4; II.22.

267. A woman's loosening her locks of hair (*keśa-vimokṣaṇa*) in the presence of a man was construed as a mark of love for him LXXVII.3.

268. While commenting on this verse, Utpala quotes dissenting views of some older commentators. According to some, a shave in certain circumstances could be allowed on the 4th and 14th *tithis*, but in no case on the 9th नवमेहनि न चापि विष्ट्यामित्यत्र केचिदन्यथा व्याख्यानं कुर्वन्ति। नवमदिवसग्रहणमत्यन्तनिषेधार्थम् चतुर्थ्या चतुर्दश्यामपि कार्यातिपत्तौ कर्तव्यं क्षुरम्, न नवम्याम्। तथा च। न नवम्यंगारकवर्जमिति लोकवचनं प्रदर्शयन्ति।

According to two verses cited in Vyāsa's name, shaving on the 4th, 6th, 8th, 14th and 15th *tithis* was not permitted—

चतुर्थी चैव षष्ठी च अष्टमी च चतुर्दशीम्।
तथा पंचदशी चैव ब्रह्मचारी भवेत् सदा॥
श्मश्रुकर्म • शिरोभ्यंगमंजनं दन्तधावनम्।
पर्वस्वेतानि यः कुर्याल्लक्ष्मीस्तत्र न तिष्ठति॥

A prose passage quoted from Parāśara prohibits shaving on the 1st and 6th *tithis*.

269. Cf. *Bhāva-prakāśa*, I. 1-93.

270. Cf. *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 152. Vātsyāyana (I.4.16) requires his *nāgaraka* to cleanse his teeth with a wooden tooth-cleaner (*danta-dhāvana*) every morning.

271. According to a popular belief, one desirous to know the success or failure of his cherished object for the forthcoming year chewed a tooth-stick and then washed and threw it at a clean spot and watched its position. That falling in front in a tranquil direction, occupying an elevated spot or the one falling down after standing erect was taken to bode success, while any other position was regarded as inauspicious (LXXXIV.8-9; *YY*, II.21-2).

272. Cf. *Kāmasūtra*, I.4.8, 16; IV.1.36. The *Śukra-nīti* (IV.3.99) regards the preparation and preservation of *tāmbūla* as an art.

273. It is referred to in Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭaṅga-hṛdaya* (Sūtra-sthāna, III.38), assigned to *cir.* AD 625.

274. It is not mentioned in *Caraka* and *Suśruta* also. It is important from the point of view of Varāhamihira's date which must be earlier than early seventh century AD when Vāgbhaṭa is believed to have flourished. Varāhamihira is in this respect in line with the earlier medical writers.

275. Mandasor inscr. of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, II.11-2 (*CII*, III, No. 18)—
तारुण्य-कान्त्युपचितोपि सुवर्ण-हार-ताम्बूल-पुष्पविधिना समलंकृतोपि।
नारीजनः प्रियमुपैति न तावदश्रयां यावन्न पट्टमयवस्त्रयुगानि धत्ते॥

The above is the reading of J.F. Fleet. The alternative reading of the third quarter suggested by Jagannath Agrawal, viz., *nāri-janaḥ śriyam=upaiti na tāvad=agryām* (*Researches in Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics*, Delhi, 1986, p. 80) is definitely preferable.

Nagar inscr. of Dhanika, dated 685 AD, verse 11 :—

व्यालोलोचन-जलप्लुति-लाञ्छितानि लम्बालकानि ललित-स्मित-वर्जितानि।
ताम्बूल-राग-रहिताधरभाञ्जि यस्य कोपश्चकार वदनान्वरि-सुन्दरीणाम्॥

276. XLIII.27; LXVIII.22, 24; LXXV.2; LXXVI.1; CIII.5.
277. XIII.1; XLII.57; LXVIII.22; LXIX.10.
278. XLVII.27, 32; LXXVII.21; C.8; BY, XX.1.
279. LXVIII.24.
280. Also cf. LXXVI.1; CIII.33; XLIII.24, 27; BY, XX.1.
281. It refers to a garland of lotus flowers.
282. *Sakhī-vadanam tilak-ojvalam*. Utpala tells us that *tilaka* marks were fashioned like *tamāla* leaves—*sakhī-vadanam=āli-vadanam tilak-ojvalam tamāla-pattr-opasobhitam*. Cf. *Amara*, II. 6.123.
283. XIX.4; XXIV.4; XXVIII.6, 15; XXXII.21; LIII.107, 110.
284. Cf. *Rājatarāṅginī*, VII.922 for use of the word *bhaṅgī* in the sense of fashion. Also see *JRAS*, 1873, p. 310, fn.1. It is mentioned as *sotañjana* in the *Mahāvagga* (ed. Jagadish Kashyap, Nalanda, 1956, p. 221), a part of the Buddhist Pali text *Vinaya Pitaka*.
285. The chapter containing this stanza is spurious.
286. III.23; X.11; XXIV.14; XLI.10; LIII.26.
287. LIII.110.
288. LV.2; V.50; XI.13; LVII.39; YY, II.23.
289. XLII.57; YY, XIII.10; TY, IX.11.
290. XI.13. Female figures in sculpture occasionally hold 'a flat, small, circular mirror with a long projecting handle.' Cf. Rajendra Lal Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, p. 260.
291. Mirrors were probably made from polished metals; but the possibility of their being fabricated from glass (*kāca*, XLI.8, 10; LXXXVI.23) cannot be ruled out. In Ceylon, 'which borrowed all the arts of civilized life from the Hindus', glass mirror was already known in the third century BC. We know from Pliny (*Lib. XXXVI*, C. 66) that Indian glass was fabricated from pounded crystal and was, therefore, superior to all others. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (p.45) informs

us that Indian ports imported crude glass in the first century AD. Cf. R.L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, I, p.241.

292. II, p. 73; LXXVIII.1, 5, 18.

293. Title of Ch. LXXVIII; LXXXVIII.1.

294. Cf. *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*, X.51-2.

295. LXXVIII.2. Cf. *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*, X.50.

296. Cf. *Ibid.*, X.90-91.

297. LXXVIII.32-7. Cf. *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*, X.84-9. Varāhamihira gives technical names of holes of various shapes. A hole hollow in the middle and narrow at the mouth was called *Niṣkuṭa*; a hole of the size of *niṣpāva* or black gram grains and blue in colour was styled *Kolākṣa*; *Sūkara-nayana* is uneven, colourless and extends over its joints; *Vasta-nābha* denotes a breach covering one joint; *Kālaka* is a black hole; *Dhundhuka* is also dark but cut. A hole of the same colour as wood was not deemed so inauspicious.

298. *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*, X.71 is identical with *BS*, LXXVIII.19. *Kālidāsa* (*Raghuvamśa*, XVII.21) refers to ivory seat and the *Daśa-kumāra-carita* mentions bedsteads with ivory supports shaped like a lion.

299. LXXIII.1; LXXVIII.1, 5, 18, 26.

300. XLV.22; LXX.9; LXXXVIII.1, 20; XCIV.12; *BY*, XXXII.13.

301. LXIX.10; LXX.9; LXXVIII.1,5,18; LXXXVIII.1.

302. XLVII.46-7; LIX.7; *BY*, XVII.7; *YY*, VII.8.

303. *Ibid.*, XII.11.

304. LIX.7; LXXVII.15; *BY* XVI.3.

305. Digit (*arigula*) here denotes the distance covered by eight husked barley grains placed breadth-wise touching each other. It is styled *karmāṅgula*, a practical digit:—

कर्माङ्गुलं यवाष्टकमुदरासक्तं तुषैः परित्यक्तम्।

LXXVIII.8.

306. अङ्गुलशतं नृपाणां महती शय्या जयाय कृता॥
नवतिः सैव षड्ना द्वादशहीना त्रिषट्कहीना च।
नृपपुत्रमन्त्रिबलपतिपुरोधसां सूर्ययासङ्ख्यम्॥
अर्धमतोऽष्टांशोनं विष्कम्भो विश्वकर्मणा प्रोक्तः।
आयामत्रयंशसमः पादोच्छ्रयः सकुक्ष्यशिराः॥

LXXVIII.8-10.

Cf. *Viśvakarma-prakāśa*, X.57-61.

307. ईषायोगे दारु प्रदक्षिणाग्रं प्रशस्तमाचार्यैः।
अपसव्यैकदिगग्रे भवति भयं भूतसंतनितम्॥

LXXVIII.27.

Cf. Utpala—

ईषाशब्देन चत्वारि काष्ठानि घटितान्युच्यन्ते। शिरः पादभागयोर्द्वौ वामदक्षिणभागयोर्द्वाविति। तेषां परस्परं यत्र संयोगः शिरः पादकाष्ठयोर्द्वे छिद्रे कृत्वा वामदक्षिणपादकाष्ठानि तेषु क्षिपेत्। तत्रायं क्रमः।... पूर्वोक्तविन्यस्तस्य शिरः काष्ठस्य यदग्रं तत्र दक्षिणदिक्स्थकाष्ठमूलं क्षिपेत्। तस्याग्रे पादानाभागस्थं काष्ठमूलं क्षिपेत्। तदग्र उत्तरदिग्भागस्थकाष्ठमूलं क्षिपेत्। तदग्रे शिरः काष्ठमूलं क्षिपेत्। एवं पूर्वदक्षिणपश्चिमोत्तरसंस्थानेन न्यासे कृते प्रदक्षिणाग्रं भवति।... शिरः पादभागकाष्ठयोरेकस्यां दिश्यग्रं यद् भवति तदैकदिगग्रम्।

308. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 136, Pl. XII, figs. 1-2; A. V. Naik, "Studies in Nagarjunakonda Sculptures", *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, II, Nos. 1-2, p. 291, fig. 3, p. 292, figs. 7-8.
309. केवलचन्दनरचितं कांचनगुप्तं विचित्ररत्नयुतम्।
अध्यासन् पर्यङ्कं विबुधैरपि पूज्यते नृपतिः॥

LXXVIII.14.

310. P.K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, p. 62.
311. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures*, Pl. XII; A.V. Naik, "Studies in Nagarjunakonda Sculptures", pp. 291-3, Figs. 1-17. For a large number of illustrations see N.P. Joshi in *Maithilīśarana Gupta Abhinandana Grantha*, pp. 894-902.
312. भद्रासनमेकतमेन कारितं कनकरजतताम्राणाम्।
क्षीरतरुनिर्मितं वा विन्यस्यं चर्मणामुपरि॥
त्रिविधस्तस्योच्छ्रयो हस्तः पादाधिकोऽर्धयुक्तश्च।
माण्डलिकानन्तरजित्तमस्तराज्यार्थिनां शुभदः॥

XLVII.46-7.

According to T.A. Gopinatha Rao (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 20, Pl. VI.6), the height of *Bhadrāsana* is divided 'into sixteen parts of which one forms the thickness of the *upāna* or the basal layer, four of the *jagatī* or the next higher layer, three of the *kumuda*, one of the *pañjikā*, three of the *kaṇṭha*, one of the second *pañjikā*, two of the broader *mahāpañjikā* and one of the *ghṛta-vāri*, the topmost layer'. *Bhadrāpīṭha* may be either circular or rectangular.

313. XLVII.46-7; BY, XVII.7; YY, VII.8. Cf. *Harṣa-carita*, VII, pp. 273-74.
314. Kālidāsa represents Kuśa's son Atithi as sitting on a *bhadrāpīṭha* at the time of his coronation. *Vide Raghuvamśa*, XVII.10.
315. LXXX.26.
316. XXVIII.5; XLI.8; X.10; LXXXVIII.1.
317. LII.92; LXXVI.2; XCII.8; L.18.
318. XXIV.7; XLIII.20; XLVII.37; LV.26; LXVII.46.
319. IV.1; XXIV.26-27; XLII.35; LII.109; LXIX.17; LXX.13.
320. III.3I; IV.4; LXVII.18, 80.
321. The phrase '*svastikair=ghṛtaih*' occurring in LV.15 is taken by the commentator to mean 'pitchers shaped like *Svastika*'.
322. A pot filled with corn is referred to in L.18.

323. *Amara* II.9.31 regards it as synonymous with *sthālī*, a cooking pot.
324. An unbaked earthen lamp is mentioned in LII.92. LXXXVIII.1 (*kulālādi-bhāṇḍāny=abhuktāny=abhinnāni*) seems to suggest that earthen pots were broken after use.
325. In Utpala's language it was called '*dāmdanī damanī*' (on LXXXVII.6). According to the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, I.128, it was a golden cup closed at the mouth with a lid. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, VIII.207, seems to suggest that like parasol *bhṛṅgāra* was also regarded as an emblem of royalty. According to Bhoja's *Yuktikalpataru*, it was to be used in consecrating the king and made of gold, silver, clay, copper, crystal, sandalwood, iron and horn—
 राज्ञोऽभिषेकपात्रं यत् भृंगार इति तन्मतम्।
 तदष्टधा तस्य मानमाकृतिश्चापि चाष्टधा॥
 सौवर्णं राजतं भौमं ताम्रं स्फटिकमेव च।
 चान्दनं लौहजं शार्ङ्गमेतदष्टविधं स्मृतम्॥
 Quoted in the *Śabda-kalpādruma* under '*bhṛṅgāra*'. Some spouted vessels with a narrow neck and with or without a side-handle depicted in Amaravati sculptures are taken by C. Sivaramamurti to illustrate Pāli *bhiṅkāra* or Sanskrit *bhṛṅgāra*. Cf. *Amaravati Sculptures*, p. 42, Pl. V, Figs. 1, 18, 19, 22, 27, 30.
326. We are told that even a single hole suffices to drain off its water. Cf. *Manu*, II.99.
327. Probably the same as the *koṣa-kalaśa* mentioned in the *Harṣa-carita*, VII. V.S. Agrawala explains it by '*kalaśa* filled with *koṣa*' (*Harṣa-carita*, A Cultural Study, p. 178), which gives no sense.
328. It mentions ladle and winnowing basket as *upaskara*.
329. II.3; *BY*, VI.4; *TY*, III.4.
330. II, p. 40.
331. II. 3.
332. Cf. LXXV.1; LXXXVII.25; *BJ*, IV.11.
333. Varāhamihira directs that *YY* should not be taught to a pupil who has stayed only for a short time with his teacher.
334. It is said that a student knows *śāstras* by revering his teacher-*Chātras sūtrthān guru-pūjay-eva*.
335. LXXIII.12; C. 2; CIII.3, 45, etc.
336. *YY*, V.12, 33, 34, etc.
337. यतो नरा...अजातौ वडवादिषु यान्ति. Cf. *Manu*, XI.174.
 which prescribes atonement for sexual intercourse with other species.
338. माण्डव्यगिरं श्रुत्वा न मदीया रोचतेऽथवा नैवम्।
 साध्वी तथा न पुसां प्रिया यथा स्याज्जघनचपला॥

339. स्त्रीभिः स्त्री मदनविषानलप्रदीप्तं
संशान्तिं नयति नराकृतिस्थिताभिः।

BJ, XXIV.7.

340. It refers to a fighting bull.

341. *Uśrā-kṛīḍaka*, 'bull-fighter'. Utpala splits it into '*uśrā*' and '*kṛīḍaka*' and treats them as unconnected, but without any justification.

342. Cf. *Manusmṛti*, IV.76.

343. Cf. *ibid.*, IV.75.

344. मनोवृत्तिसमायोगाद् विकार इव वक्त्रस्य।

345. नृपतिशत्रुभयशंकितचित्तो द्रुतपदं व्रजति।

346. क्ष्वेडा मुखशब्दः शोडनिकेति प्रसिद्धः।

347. आस्फोटितं करशब्दः, वक्षः स्थलस्य बाहोर्द्वितीयहस्तेन ताडनम्।

348. Cf. *Manusmṛti*, VIII.2.

G.M. College of Education
Raipur, Bantalab
Jammu.

Acc. No.... 5074

Dated.... 16.5.63

G.M.C.E.J



5074

Ajay Mitra Shastri (b. 1934), a reputed historian, epigraphist, numismatist and indologist, has just retired as Professor of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology from Nagpur University. A former Editor of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* and the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* and Chief Editor of the *Nidhi* (Journal of the Indian Coin Society), he is currently Chief Editor of the *Numismatic Studies* and Editor of the *Numismatic Digest*. Formerly Chairman of the Indian Coin Society, he is now Vice-Chairman of the Epigraphical Society of India and of the South Indian Numismatic Society, Convener of the Inscriptions of India Programme of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, and Chairman of the Advisory Board for History of Science (Ancient Period) of the Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi.

Professor Shastri has been Sectional President of the Indian History Congress (1978), Andhra Pradesh History Congress (1981), Maharashtra Itihas Parishad (1986) and the All-India Oriental Conference (1994) and General President of the Numismatic Society of India (1981), Epigraphical Society of India (1987), third International Colloquium on 'Coinage, Trade and Economy' at the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik, Tamil Nadu Numismatic Society, Indian History and Culture Society (1991) and the Vidvat Parishad of the Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Samiti (1994), Member of the History panel of the University Grants Commission (1980-82), UGC National Lecturer (1985) and UGC National Fellow (1987-89) and is currently UGC Emeritus Fellow. He has been felicitated by the Numismatic Society of India with its Akbar Silver Medal (1984) and Altekhar Gold Medal (1995); presented with a plaque of honour by the Coin Study Circle, Calcutta (1989), and a copper-plate by the Epigraphical Society of India (1992) and honoured with a couple of festschrifts: one published from Indore (1988) and the other in two tomes from Delhi (1989). He has also delivered numerous prestigious endowment lectures.



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